Department of World Cultures

University of Helsinki

Helsinki

Macedonian Kings, Egyptian Pharaohs

The Ptolemaic Family in the Encomiastic Poems of Callimachus

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in auditorium XV, University Main Building, on the 23rd of September, 2016 at 12 o'clock.

Helsinki 2016

ISBN 978-951-51-2383-1 (paperback.)
ISBN 978-951-51-2384-8 (PDF)

Unigrafia
Helsinki 2016

Abstract

The interaction between Greek and Egyptian cultural concepts has been an intense yet controversial topic in studies about Ptolemaic Egypt. The present study partakes in this discussion with an analysis of the encomiastic poems of Callimachus of Cyrene (c. 305 – c. 240 BC). The success of the Ptolemaic Dynasty is crystallized in the juxtaposing of the different roles of a Greek βασιλεύς and of an Egyptian Pharaoh, and this study gives a glimpse of this political and ideological endeavour through the poetry of Callimachus. The contribution of the present work is to situate Callimachus in the core of the Ptolemaic court. Callimachus was a proponent of the Ptolemaic rule. By reappraising the traditional Greek beliefs, he examined the bicultural rule of the Ptolemies in his encomiastic poems.

This work critically examines six Callimachean hymns, namely to Zeus, to Apollo, to Artemis, to Delos, to Athena and to Demeter together with the *Victory of Berenice*, the *Lock of Berenice* and the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. Characterized by ambiguous imagery, the hymns inspect the ruptures in Greek thought during the Hellenistic age. These poems link Ptolemaic kings and queens with the deities they address and embroider this linkage with Egyptian cultural concepts. The *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice* contain a subtext in which Berenice II is portrayed in Egyptian terms whereas the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* examines the mortuary aspects of Graeco-Egyptian Ptolemaic Egypt.

The Ptolemies created a new audience for the poets of their court when they established a bilingual cadre of scribes. The scribes, together with the indigenous priests, were a heterogeneous group, but some were thoroughly Hellenized, as the case of Manetho confirms. The encomiastic poetry of Callimachus legitimized the status of the Ptolemies amid the native Egyptian elite, but also made their style of kingship more familiar to the Greeks.

Acknowledgements

It is my pleasure to express my heartfelt gratitude to people who have helped me with this study. My greatest debt is to Mika Kajava and Erja Salmenkivi, under whose supervision this dissertation was written. I am grateful for their patience with my countless drafts, but also for their advice, encouragement, guidance and kindness. I am also indebted to several scholars who read and commented on my work during its progress. Of these, I would like to single out Marja Vierros who read a large portion of the manuscript and offered several constructive observations. In terms of practical help, I owe a special thank you to Eva Nyman-Kaarakka. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to Silvia Barbantani, Richard Hunter and Susan Stephens for their time and effort in shaping the manuscript into its final form. I should also like to thank Robert Whiting who revised the English of this study. Any remaining errors are my own responsibility. My deepest thanks go to my family and friends. The unwavering support of my parents and sisters has carried me throughout my life. Finally, I owe more than can ever be expressed to my spouse and daughter for their love and their support.

This study would not have been possible without financial support from the Alfred Kordelin Foundation, the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East Project (University of Helsinki), the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation, the Jutikkala Fund of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, the Olkiluoto Research Foundation, the Oskar Öflund Foundation and the University of Helsinki (chancellor's travel grant and dissertation completion grant). I thank each and every one of them for their generosity.

Iiro Laukola
Helsinki, August 2016

Contents

Abbreviations

AB	*Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*, C. Austin & G. Bastianini, Milano 2002.
AG	*Anthologia Graeca*.
AP	*Anthologia Palatina.*
Berger	*Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*, H. Berger, Amsterdam 1964.
CA	*Collectanea Alexandrina, reliquiae minores poetarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae*, J.U. Powell, Oxford, 1925.
DK	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, H. Diels & W. Kranz, Berlin 1951 – 1952.
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby, Berlin-Leiden 1923–.
GP	*The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, Cambridge 1965.
Harder	*Callimachus: Aetia, Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, A. Harder, Oxford 2012.
Hollis	*Callimachus: Hecale*, A.S. Hollis, Oxford 2009.
I.Didyma	*Die Inschriften von Didyma*, A. Rehm & R. Harder, Berlin 1958.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–.
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon, with a Revised Supplement*, H.G. Liddell & R. Scott & H.S. Jones, Oxford 1996.
LÄ	*Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, W. Helck & E. Otto & W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1975 – 1992.

Massimilla *Callimaco. Aitia. Libri primo e secondo: Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*, Pisa & Roma 1996. *Libro terzo e quarto: Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*, Pisa & Roma 2010. G. Massimilla.

OGIS *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, W. Dittenberger, Leipzig 1903 – 1905.

Pf. *Callimachus* I-II, R. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949 – 1951.

Pyr. *The Ancient Pyramid Texts*, R.O. Faulkner, Oxford, 1969.

RE *Paulys Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A.F. Pauly & G. Wissowa (et al.), Stuttgart-München 1894 – 1997.

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden-Amsterdam 1923–.

SH *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, H. Lloyd-Jones & P. Parsons, Berlin 1983.

1 Introduction

Callimachus of Cyrene (c. 305 – c. 240 BC), the great poet of the Hellenistic period, lived in an age of revisions. His era saw the rise of a new kind of poetry that sought influence not primarily from the Homeric epics, but instead embraced everything refined, light and learned. However, this devotion to small-scaledness was in contravention of the political changes of the period. The conquests of Alexander the Great had profoundly restructured the ancient world. Vast imperial states replaced the small-sized πόλεις and, as a result, the concept of οἰκουμένη γῆ had to be redefined. Alexander's premature death (323 BC) caused a political vacuum. After complex power struggles, the Successors of Alexander, the Διάδοχοι, divided the many-sided empire of the Great King of Macedonia. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, ruled Egypt, first as a satrap and later as a king. The immeasurable wealth of Egypt enabled the Lagid dynasty to transform Alexandria, their new capital, into a centre of culture and learning similar to Athens at its prime. Accordingly, the Ptolemies attracted men of letters from all over the Greek-speaking world to partake in this endeavour. Especially the city of Cyrene, an old Doric colony situated in the eastern part of Libya, sent some of its brightest minds to the Ptolemaic court. One of those expatriates was Callimachus.

Callimachus, then, lived most of his adult life in Alexandria. This recently established city was the Ptolemaic capital, but also the centre of the post-classical Greek world. At the same time, the mere appearance of Alexandria was at least partly shaped by Egypt's indigenous elements: traditional materials, such as sphinxes, obelisks and temples to Egyptian deities, adorned its cityscape.[1] The Graeco-Egyptian duality also characterized the governance of the patrons of Callimachus, the Ptolemies. Unlike the preceding Achaemenid kings, the Ptolemaic court resided in Egypt. This country, defined by its time-honoured Pharaonic tradition, had existing structures of government and a powerful priestly elite that controlled the Two Lands. Consequently, the Ptolemaic regime needed to find a balance between their traditional way of ruling,

[1] McKenzie 2007, 32-34. Alexander the Great was apparently responsible for initiating the construction of the temple of Isis. See Arr. *Anab*. 3.1.5: πόθος οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σημεῖα τῇ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀγορὰν ἐν αὐτῇ δείμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα καὶ θεῶν ὧντινων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, Ἴσιδος δὲ Αἰγυπτίας, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ᾗ περιβεβλῆσθαι.

that is, the Greek βασιλεύς and the traditional Egyptian king, the Pharaoh. The encomiastic texts of Callimachus provide a unique perspective into this political and ideological undertaking that took place in the court of the first Ptolemies.

The Ptolemaic regime required assistance and advice from the native Egyptians because the new rulers wished to portray themselves as the continuation of the Pharaonic tradition. It is likely that they consulted especially the priestly elite of Memphis,[2] the old capital of Egypt. The Ptolemies adopted a peaceable and cooperative style of leadership towards their Egyptian subjects. This pragmatic approach benefited both the Greek rulers and the Egyptians priests: indigenous priests helped the new rulers run the country and maintain stability while the Macedonian Pharaoh simultaneously granted the legitimacy of the priests. Thanks to the significance of the Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic economy,[3] the close liaison also enhanced the treasury of the Lagid kingdom. The core of the new regime was Greek, but there were, of course, Egyptians at various levels of Ptolemaic officialdom. Some of them were bilingual scribes working in the local government, some held more prestigious positions. The figure of Manetho of Sebennytos, a contemporary of Callimachus, is of particular interest because he held a prominent position in the intellectual circles of Alexandria. Manetho mastered the language of the conquerors and wrote a history of Egypt in Greek (Αἰγυπτιακά). Manetho perhaps wrote this treatise to educate his Greek patrons about the details of Egyptian belief. There is also evidence that he was in contact with the other indigenous priests of Ptolemaic Egypt.[4] One may suppose that Manetho along with other well-Hellenized Egyptians must have been familiar with the court poetry of Ptolemaic Egypt, indicating that Callimachus' encomiastic poems had perhaps a more diverse audience than has previously been thought.

Callimachus' accounts of his kings and queens highlight the question about the function of poetry in Ptolemaic society. For example, the Cyrenean polymath Eratosthenes (c. 276 – c. 195 BC) asserted that the purpose of poetry is to offer

[2] Quaegebeur 1980, 78-79.

[3] Johnson 1986, 71.

[4] Moyer 2011, 86-87

entertainment (ψυχαγωγία), not instruction (διδασκαλία).[5] In the passage, Eratosthenes criticized Homer as an untrustworthy geographer of the known world. Agreeing with this Eratosthenean maxim, the scholarship on Callimachus usually claims that his verses yield merely entertainment. Indeed, on the face of it, the image of Callimachus the poet appears to be completely ill suited to instruct people or, even further, propagate any ideas. Callimachus' painstaking erudition evidently supposes that only a happy few properly understood his poetry and his irony indicates that he was never serious. An impenetrable wit would hardly be the best choice for a court propagandist. However, the effect was probably the opposite. The complexity of Callimachus, as Thomas A. Schmitz argues,[6] united rather than alienated his readers because the decipherment of the poet's allusions allowed his readers to feel a sense of affinity between fellow connoisseurs. One assumes, for instance, that it would have been an encouraging experience for an Egyptian scribe to be able to read Callimachus without a commentary. This style of writing helped Callimachus promote his ideas about poetry and, more importantly, the status of his kings and queens. Callimachus portrayed the Graeco-Egyptian hybrid of the Ptolemaic court in such a manner that made it accessible not only to the Greeks of Egypt, but also to the indigenous Egyptians with skills in Greek.

In fr. 612 Pf., Callimachus states that he sings of nothing that is without witness (ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω). The context of this verse is entirely lost, but it appears to accentuate the methodological approach of the intelligentsia of the Hellenistic age. The New Library of Alexandria, the cynosure of the Ptolemies, and its tremendous collections enabled the scholar-poets to enquire into the works of οἱ ἀρχαῖοι and to contrast the age-old myths and narratives. Nevertheless, poetry is seldom concerned solely with historical facts, and Hellenistic poetry is no exception in this respect. A typical such example is the poetry of Callimachus, which abounds in misinformation especially about the factual lineages of the female members of the Ptolemaic court.[7] One should consequently ask if the Cyrenean poet could provide accurate and truthful

[5] Berger 1 A, 20: Ποιητὴν [Eratosthenes] γὰρ ἔφη πάντα στοχάζεσθαι ψυχαγωγίας, οὐ διδασκαλίας. For this passage, see Pfeiffer 1968, 166-167.

[6] Schmitz 1999.

[7] See Chapters 4.2, 5.1 and 5.2.

information about life in Ptolemaic Egypt. This is a pertinent question because, apart from the miscellaneous submarine finds, we have few physical remains of ancient Alexandria because it is buried under a modern metropolis. Literature is often the only source of the history of early Ptolemaic Egypt, and therefore this study does not aspire to discover how things actually were, but instead concentrates on the image Callimachus wished to relay to his readers.

The scope of the thesis

The principal aim of this study is to explore Callimachus' encomiastic poetry to detect traces of Egyptian impact. This topic is certainly not a new one. The confluence of Greek and Egyptian thought in Callimachus is, in fact, a spirited theme in the scholarship of Hellenistic literature. Yet an overview of the royal *encomia* of Callimachus is lacking. My task in filling the gap is twofold. First, I aim to identify the poems in which Callimachus eulogizes about the members of the Ptolemaic court. This is a surprisingly difficult undertaking because in examining the dimensions of Ptolemaic kingship Callimachus often employs suggestive imagery that accentuates the ambiguity between mortals and immortals in the dynastic cult of Ptolemaic Egypt. Second, I aim to contextualize these poems in the milieu of Callimachus' age, defined by the royal cult, rivalries between the Hellenistic kingdoms, and Graeco-Egyptian interplay. From the works of Callimachus, the poems that contain the most Egyptian influence seem to be those that were written about members of the Ptolemaic court. This study reasserts the claim that the motive behind the Egyptianizing allusions in Callimachean poetry was mainly a political one.

This study consists of four main chapters, framed by an introduction, a conclusion, a bibliography, and indices. The analysis follows a chronological order; this structure enables us to examine how the Ptolemaic rulership evolved through the career of Callimachus. The present chapter sets the research questions and surveys the previous research literature. Chapter 2 (Callimachus and Ptolemaic Alexandria) delves into the relationship between Egypt and Greece before the Macedonian takeover. The chapter furthermore investigates the relations between the Greeks and the Egyptians in Ptolemaic Egypt, especially stressing the importance of the bilingual cadre of scribes. Finally, Chapter 2 examines Callimachus' style, but also scrutinizes his knowledge of

the native Egyptian culture and concepts by analyzing his Cyrenean background and his position in the library of Alexandria.

Chapter 3 (Birth of a Divine King) investigates Callimachus' hymns to Zeus and Delos. Both these poems focus on the birth of a god, and juxtapose an ancient theogony with the rule of a contemporary king. I particularly concentrate on the idea that a legendary divine king legitimizes the rule of a contemporary king, a notion that has antecedents in the Egyptian myths. The *Hymn to Zeus* does not explicitly refer to a real person, but it seems that the poem praises Ptolemy II Philadelphus at the beginning of his co-regency. In contrast, the *Hymn to Delos* directly mentions Philadelphus. The *Hymn to Delos* unambiguously portrays a Ptolemaic king as a Greek Pharaoh. The novel argument of this chapter is to link the *Hymn to Delos* with an Egyptian narrative discourse called the prophetic *Königsnovelle*.

Chapter 4 (Divine Sisters) examines poems honouring Ptolemaic women, namely hymns 3 (to Artemis), 5 (to Athena) and 6 (to Demeter) and the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. Even though these hymns are more difficult to connect with members of the court than the *Hymns* to Zeus and Delos, there are, however, hints that they celebrate a member of the Ptolemaic court as well. The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, a lamentation over the death of Arsinoe II, survives in a seriously fragmented state of preservation, meaning that its analysis is hypothetical. The fragments seem to indicate that the poem examined the mortuary aspects of the Ptolemaic ruler cult in both Greek and Egyptian terms. To my knowledge, there are no previous studies that link Philotera, the earlier deceased sister of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II Philadelphus, with Nephthys, the Egyptian goddess of lamentation.

Chapter 5 (Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II: the Divine Couple) concentrates on the portrayals of Euergetes and Berenice II in the poetry of Callimachus. The chapter begins with an analysis of the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Victory of Sosibius* because their themes complement the analysis of the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. The welcoming tone of both the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice* suggests a close connection between the queen and the poet. One notices that the poems that praise Berenice II contain a cosmic context that correlates with Egyptian beliefs.

Notes on previous research literature

The amount of scholarly literature published on Callimachus and his works is enormous.[8] This is mostly for two reasons: Callimachean poetry is in its intricacy ideal material for exegesis[9] and his verse is only partly preserved. We possess intact all six Callimachean hymns and a large number of his epigrams, but the rest of his *oeuvre* is either damaged or completely lost.[10] Because of this fragmentariness, we are seldom able to reach "the true historical perspective"[11] in our analysis because the rest of the literature of the Hellenistic age is mostly lost or only preserved in fragments. The situation is, however, not completely hopeless as the reconstruction of Callimachus' *Hecale* by Adrian Hollis shows.[12]

Given that the major part of the research about Ptolemaic Egypt has been conducted by classicists,[13] the influence of Egypt on Ptolemaic rule has perhaps been underestimated. An emblematic example is Peter Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Fraser's contribution is a priceless source of information about Ptolemaic Egypt, but it somewhat neglects Egyptian sources and thus downplays the influence of native thought in the Ptolemaic kingdom.[14] In contrast, scholars who also work with Egyptian documents depict the Lagid Empire in less Manichean terms. As an example, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (*Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* in the original German) by Günther Hölbl acknowledges the indigenous documents and portrays a more diverse picture of the Ptolemaic kingdom than Fraser. A similar example is Werner Huss's *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr*. A recent contribution to the subject is

[8] See especially Lehnus 2000, the bibliography of Acosta-Hughes, Lehnus & Stephens 2011 and the online Hellenistic bibliography maintained by Martine Cyjpers.

[9] Clem. Al. *Strom*. 5.8.50.3: Εὐφορίων γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὰ Καλλιμάχου Αἴτια καὶ ἡ Λυκόφρονος Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια γυμνάσιον εἰς ἐξήγησιν γραμματικῶν ἔκκειται παισίν. Commentaries on Callimachus were being produced already in Antiquity; most likely even during his lifetime. For a commentary on Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice*, see *SH* 255.

[10] Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 1: "The paradox of Callimachus is that his influence is inversely proportional to his survival – the more important his poem was in antiquity, the less we have of it."

[11] Bulloch 1985b, 544.

[12] Hollis 2009.

[13] Baines 2004, 33.

[14] See especially Moyer 2011, 23-24.

Ian S. Moyer's *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, which also examines this underestimation of the impact of Egyptian beliefs in Lagid Egypt.

The manifestations of Egypt in Greek literature have been inspected in detail by Christian Froidefond in his *Le Mirage égyptien dans la littérature grecque d'Homère à Aristote*. However, as its name suggests, Froidefond's book does not cover the Hellenistic period. An early contribution to our understanding of the interplay between the poetry of Callimachus and Egyptian cultural concepts dates from 1925; Felix Wassermann then suggested that lines 86-88 of the *Hymn to Zeus* mirror the Kubban Stele of Ramesses II.[15] It was not until several decades later, however, that scholars took notice of the possible influence of Egyptian thought on Hellenistic poetry in earnest. In 1964 Reinhold Merkelbach and Martin L. West investigated the *Erigone* of Eratosthenes discovering possible Egyptian influence in it, especially in the three main characters of the poem (Icarius, Erigone and Moira the dog).[16]

In 1981 Merkelbach published 'Das Königtum der Ptolemäer und die hellenistischen Dichter'. The article suggests that Callimachus and Theocritus portrayed Egyptian elements adopted by the Ptolemaic rulers in Greek terms. Later on, Ludwig Koenen published a series of articles of particular importance to this topic. The most significant of these is 'Die Adaptation ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof'. This article examines the *Hymn to Delos* of Callimachus and argues that it was influenced by the *Oracle of the Potter*, an indigenous Egyptian polemic. Koenen's 1993 article 'The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure' is likewise an important contribution. Peter Bing analyzed the *Hymn to Delos* in an Egyptianizing way in his *Well-Read Muse*.[17] Wilhelm Mineur's commentary on the *Hymn to Delos* contains several suggestions concerning the possible Egyptian influence on the Callimachean poem.[18]

Daniel Selden's 1998 book-length article 'Alibis' is a substantial input to our understanding of the interplay between Greek literature and Egyptian concepts. His

[15] Wassermann 1925, 1277.
[16] Merkelbach & West 1964, 175-190.
[17] Bing 2008, 91–146.
[18] See Mineur 1984, 12-13.

article examines especially the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Lock of Berenice* in meticulous detail. The contributions of Susan Stephens on the study of the Graeco-Egyptian matrix in Hellenistic poetry are irreplaceable. Her *Seeing Double* is undoubtedly the most important input on the subject. Its scope is admirable: the book aims to cover all three superstars of Hellenistic literature, namely Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes, and analyze their allusions to Egyptian concepts.

The claim that Callimachus alluded more than incidentally to native Egyptian concepts has, not surprisingly, encountered criticism. This criticism is often based on the notion that Hellenistic poets were occupied in the preservation of the Greek literary heritage and in retaining their Greek roots. Fraser stresses that Hellenistic poetry is "almost entirely innocent of any reference to them [that is, Egyptian deities]".[19] Graham Zanker argues that Hellenistic poetry was "chauvinistically Greek"[20] and the Ptolemies tried to keep the Greeks separate from the Egyptians. In his discussion on Theocritus, Griffiths thinks that the Syracusan poet "seems to participate […] with Callimachus in a conspiracy never to reveal that Egypt is not a Greek land".[21] Gregor Weber concludes that, in the end, there are few genuine references to Egyptian ideas in the Hellenistic poetry.[22] Weber summarizes his stance on Callimachus thus: "Wie weit Kallimachos in seiner ägyptischen Unterlegung auch immer ging – es handelt sich nicht um ein durchgängiges, überall anzutreffendes Prinzip, sondern im Gegenteil liegt eine Zurückhaltung vor, die allenfalls punktuell durchbrochen wurde."[23] Richard Hunter covers this topic in his commentary on Theocritus' *Idyll* 17.[24] When examining the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* of Callimachus, he rationally notes that "[i]t is certainly not necessary to believe that Callimachus's text alludes to Egyptian ideas (however imperfectly understood) as well as Greek ones, but to deny the possibility closes off one potential avenue for appreciating both Callimachus as a poet and the particular nature of Ptolemaic kingship".[25]

[19] Fraser 1972, 670.
[20] Zanker 1989, 97.
[21] Griffiths 1979, 85.
[22] Weber 1993, 371-399.
[23] Weber 1993, 386.
[24] Hunter 2003, 46-53.
[25] Hunter 2003, 52.

My analysis owes much to the achievements of Merkelbach, Koenen, Bing, Mineur, Selden and Stephens, and I aim to critically synthesize their work. Instead of focusing on the isolated passages, I analyze the *encomia* of Callimachus as a whole and trace the unifying details.

On the translations and the editions used

The text of Callimachus is from Pfeiffer, Massimilla, Harder and *SH*. The translations of the passages from the *Aetia* as well as Catullus' *Coma Berenices* are from Harder 2012a. The translations from Callimachus' *Hymns* are from Stephens 2015. The translations from Callimachus' *Hecale* are from Hollis 2009. Other translation of Callimachus are from Nisetich 2001. The translations of the *Pyramid Texts* are Faulkner 1969.

A few notes on the sigla: sublinear dots indicate that the letter is not certain, ⌊⌋ indicate that the part is supplemented from sources other than papyri.

2 Callimachus and Ptolemaic Alexandria

The *floruit* of Callimachus coincided with the heyday of the Ptolemaic Empire, namely the rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282 – 246 BC). Thanks to the generous endowment of the Lagid court, the arts and sciences flourished. Consequently, Alexandria was then the centre of Greek intellectual life. The relevance of Alexandria had, however, grown rapidly. It had been founded by Alexander the Great in 331 BC, only a generation before Callimachus' birth. This meant that Alexandria had to be populated, and the Ptolemies enticed talented people to their new capital. The immigrant population of Alexandria comprised Greeks from various city-states as well as non-Greeks such as Syrians. Our poet himself exemplifies this diversity. Although Callimachus lived most of his adult life in Alexandria, he remained a Cyrenean and never ceased to applaud his birth-place.

The Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt were privileged, but also disconnected. A much quoted portrayal of this appears in Theocritus' *Idyll* 15. Praxinoa, an Alexandrian noblewoman, proclaims that she and her friend do not speak Greek, but Peloponnesian (*Id*. 15.92: Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες). Alternatively, the indigenous Egyptians were numerous and shared a different world view from the immigrant Greeks. The Ptolemaic dynasty was the most long-lived dynasty of Egypt. However, its initial stages did not forecast such a success mainly because of the manifold differences between an Egyptian Pharaoh and a Greek βασιλεύς. An Egyptian king was a religious leader, an avatar of the falcon-god Horus and a guarantor of the proper world order (*ma'at*). A Macedonian Greek βασιλεύς was, in contrast, chiefly a military leader who received his legitimacy to rule by displaying prowess on the battlefield.

Generally speaking, it seems that the Ptolemaic rule was well received among the Egyptians. The anti-Greek literature, however, testifies that not all of the native population revered the foreign rulers. The cult of Serapis, the extensive building of Egyptian temples and the anti-Persian propaganda solidified the position of the Ptolemies as perpetuators of the Pharaonic tradition, but the effect of the literature was essential in this endeavour as well. There were several reasons why the Ptolemaic regime invested in the arts and sciences. To begin with, the political situation after the

death of Alexander the Great was competitive among the Hellenistic kingdoms. In this context, cultural institutions such as the Alexandrian Museion and its New Library brought merit and pride to the founders.[26] An equally important factor was domestic politics; literature helped bridge the gap between the disconnected Greeks and those Egyptians who were familiar with Greek. The bicephalous nature of the Ptolemaic kingdom motivated its poets to reassess the Hellenic myths, examine the dimensions of this new society and discover unifying details between the Greek and Egyptian beliefs. The Greek rule also enabled the Egyptian elite to revise their traditional concepts. This is represented by the Αἰγυπτιακά of Manetho.[27]

This chapter contextualizes Callimachus in the Greco-Egyptian milieu of his age. It first explores the pre-Ptolemaic conditions of Egypt to frame the beginnings of the Greek rule. Then it analyzes the key figures and characteristics of the Ptolemaic rule and presents some Egyptians who worked in the Ptolemaic court. The concluding part of this chapter is devoted to the life of the poet: certain events of Callimachus' life are investigated in order to argue that he was familiar with Egyptian cultural concepts. Finally, the characteristics of Callimachus' poetical style are discussed in light of some excerpts from his poems.

The historical background of Ptolemaic Egypt

The purpose of this section is to provide a brief historical glimpse of the events that preceded the Ptolemaic rule; especially the Persian domination of Egypt influenced the style of governance of the Lagids. The Ptolemaic rule was a continuation of the decades-long interest in Egypt among Greeks. Descriptions of the Two Lands appear at the very beginning of Greek literature: both Homeric epics describe its exoticisms.[28] Because the oral tradition behind the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* developed through centuries, the association between Egypt and Greece must have been age-old. Unsurprisingly, archaeologists have unearthed Egyptian stone vessels and certain luxury items, such as hippopotamus ivory, in Crete. These artefacts date at least to

[26] Thompson 1994, 67; Weber 2011, 230.
[27] Aufrère 2011, 53.
[28] *Il*. 9.382; *Od*. 3.300-302, 4.126-127, 4.228-232, 14.246-286, 17.425-444. For these, see Froidefond 1970, 15-68.

Early Minoan times (c. 2600 BC).[29] Trade between Greece and Egypt continued during the following centuries.[30] For instance, Strabo (17.1.33) relates that Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, traded Lesbian wine to Naucratis.

A turning point in the relationship between the two Mediterranean cultures took place during the reign of Pharaoh Psamtik I (664 – 610 BC), the first Saite king.[31] He reconquered Egypt from the Assyrians with the help of non-Egyptian mercenaries.[32] Some of them were Jews and Phoenicians, but many were of Carian and Ionian origin. Greeks started to settle in Egypt in the wake of Psamtik's rule. According to Herodotus (2.154), Psamtik gave land to those Carian and Ionian soldiers that had helped him. The first Greek colony on Egyptian soil was Naucratis (founded in the 7th century BC). Hecataeus writes (*FGrHist*. F 310) that Greeks named their residences on the Nile islands Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus and Samos. When the Ptolemaic Dynasty began, those Greeks who had immigrated to Egypt prior to the Lagid rule had already integrated with the native population. As an example, the Hellenomemphites had settled in Memphis, but had still retained their own cultural institutions.[33] In addition to those Greeks who settled in Egypt, we know that Greeks with inquisitive minds visited the Two Lands as well. Some of these travelogues are clearly fictitious,[34] but it is likely that, for instance, Pythagoras and Thales actually visited Egypt.[35]

Although the fear of foreign domination was a perennial topos in Egyptian thought,[36] the origin of the Pharaoh was secondary provided that the religious duties were properly performed. The Ptolemies were not the first non-indigenous kings in Egypt. For instance, the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Egypt (760 – 656 BC), an enticing parallel to the Ptolemaic Dynasty, saw the reestablishment of the long-standing

[29] Warren 1995, 12-13.

[30] For the trade between Egypt and Greece, see Braun 1982, 39-40.

[31] See Huss 2001, 20-24.

[32] For this, see Fischer-Bovet 2014, 18-37. See also Vasunia 2002, 24.

[33] Thompson 2012, 96-98.

[34] According to Plutarch (*Sol*. 79), some had claimed that Plato financed his field trip to Egypt by selling olive oil there.

[35] Moyer 2011, 58.

[36] See Loprieno 1988, 22-34.

Egyptian traditions by the Kushite Kings.[37] Kashta (c. 760 – c. 752 BC), the first of the Nubian kings, invaded Upper Egypt and eventually unified Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt and Kush. His son Piye (c. 752 – 721 BC), one of the most powerful kings of the Nubian Dynasty, is portrayed in the *Victory Stele of Piye* (CG 48862) as a continuator of the Pharaonic tradition: "The legitimacy of Piye's rule is indicated not merely by expressions of divine approval, royal victory, and obsequious flattery, but by conscious attempts to present the Nubian ruler as truly Egyptian, while his Libyan opponents are debased and unclean outsiders who sport feathers, eat fish, and are uncircumcised."[38]

The Ptolemaic rule was preceded by another period of non-Egyptian kings, namely the Persians. They governed Egypt on two occasions (525 – 404 BC, 343 – 332 BC).[39] This left its mark on the Lagid rule. Cambyses II defeated Psamtik III in the Battle of Pelusium in 525 BC, and thus started the first era of Persian domination. According to Greek historians, this was an extremely grim period, characterized by the rule of crazed despots who deliberately offended the sacred beliefs of the Egyptians. Herodotus, for instance, relates (3.27-29) that Cambyses II executed Egyptian priests and furthermore killed the Apis bull.[40] It seems, however, that the bull had died of natural causes and was buried according to the traditional rites.[41] Consequently, the political climate in Egypt was not as anti-Persian as the Greek sources might suggest. It seems that the Egyptians revered Darius I (522 – 486 BC), the successor of Cambyses II, for his consideration for the indigenous beliefs.[42] These dystopian accounts of the Greek historians nevertheless affected the image of Egypt among the Greeks. Alexander the Great certainly consulted the Greek sources for instruction about the lands he intended to take over.[43] Phiroze Vasunia thinks that the accounts of the Two Lands in the Greek literature had such a profound influence on the Macedonian king that they contributed

[37] See Leclant 1980.

[38] Simpson 2003, 367.

[39] See Bianchi 1982 and Huss 2001, 33-54.

[40] See also Plutarch's account (*De Is. et Os*. 355c) about Artaxerxes III Ochus (425 BC – 338 BC) not only slaughtering, but also eating the Apis bull.

[41] Bianchi 1982, 943.

[42] Hölbl 2001, 3; Huss 2001, 33-36.

[43] Moyer 2011, 9.

to his desire to invade Egypt.[44] Conquering Egypt was, of course, a strategic move to avoid having Persian troops at his back when invading Asia.

Alexander the Great was one of the most gifted military strategists of the ancient world. When his troops conquered Egypt in 332 BC, they faced little resistance.[45] Alexander's far-sightedness manifested particularly in the way he presented himself to the Egyptians after the takeover, not as a foreign conqueror, but as a godly figure dispelling the forces of chaos.[46] This representation harmonizes with the Egyptian belief that a king is a counterforce to disorder. Arrian's account (*Anab*. 3.1.4) stresses Alexander's respect towards the Egyptian beliefs. He abided by the conventional Pharaonic protocol and visited Heliopolis and Memphis, the capital of the Two Lands, where he performed the Egyptian rites to Apis and other Egyptian deities as well. Alexander received a full royal Egyptian titulary as well.[47]

One of his intriguing enterprises on African soil was the expedition to Siwa, located in the Libyan Desert where he was declared to be the son of Zeus Ammon by the oracle of the shrine. According to the account of Arrian (*Anab*. 3.3-4), the motivation of Alexander's journey to Siwa was to find information about his origins. The announcement of the oracle, an offshoot of the oracle of Ammon at Thebes, that Alexander was the son of Zeus Ammon "was binding not only on Egypt but also on the entire Greek oikumene".[48] Especially after that event, Alexander believed or at least made other people think that his nature was divine, mirroring the belief of the Egyptian king as a son of god.[49] However, Alexander died untimely in Babylon in 323 BC, leaving the vast Macedonian kingdom in disarray.

The empire of Alexander the Great extended from Macedonia to the perimeters of the Himalayas. It was therefore not easily divided among the Successors. Philip III

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[44] Vasunia 2001, 248-288.

[45] Arr. *Anab*. 3.1-3.

[46] See the comment of Diodorus Siculus (17.49.2): οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἠσεβηκότων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βιαίως ἀρχόντων ἄσμενοι προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. See also Strabo 1.4.9.

[47] See Beckerath 1999, 232-233. See also the introduction to Chapter 3 in which I discuss the royal protocol of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

[48] Hölbl 2001, 78.

[49] Hölbl 2001, 10-11.

Arrhidaeus (c. 359 – 317 BC), the inwardly fragile step-brother of Alexander, was ostensibly the king of the Macedonian Empire after the death of the Great King. The Partition of Babylon (323 BC) divided the Empire among the Successors. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, ruled Egypt, one of the most desired shares of the Empire of Alexander. In legitimizing his sovereignty over the Two Lands, Ptolemy utilized not only Alexander's Greek worship, but also the body of Alexander, which he had seized from the funeral procession.[50] Ptolemy ruled Egypt first from Memphis, but soon moved the capital seat to Alexandria (320/19 BC). This was symbolized by the relocation of Alexander's corpse to the *Sema* of Alexandria.

An account of the key figures of early Ptolemaic Egypt[51]

My next goal is to introduce concisely the key royal figures that Callimachus refers to in his encomiastic poetry.[52] Ptolemy I Soter (367 – 283/2 BC),[53] the son of Lagus, was one of the trusted generals of Alexander the Great. After the death of Alexander, Ptolemy ruled Egypt first as a satrap from 323 BC onwards. He was crowned as the king of Egypt in 305/4 BC. Ptolemy had a number of children with at least three women. Thaïs, a hetaira who followed Alexander the Great in his campaigns, mothered three. The marriage with Eurydice produced three sons and two daughters.[54] The eldest son was Ptolemy Keraunos who died in 279. Keraunos was the first in line of succession until Ptolemy married Berenice I, a Macedonian noblewoman. Ptolemy and Berenice I had two daughters and a son. Arsinoe (II Philadelphus) was born in 316 BC, Ptolemy (II Philadelphus) in 309 BC and Philotera probably soon after Philadelphus. The rule of Ptolemy I Soter was characterized by the aftermath of the death of Alexander. He annexed Cyprus and Cyrenaica to Egypt.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309 – 246 BC) inherited a kingdom that was affluent and relatively safe from foreign threat. Philadelphus' accession as a co-regent took place in

[50] Chaniotis 2005, 435.

[51] For the early stages of the Ptolemaic rule, see Hölbl 2001, 9-76 and Huss 2001, 55-380.

[52] See also the introductions to Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

[53] He received the epithet Soter from the Rhodians in 305/4 when the island was besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes. For the Greek cult names of the Ptolemies, see Koenen 1993, 61-66.

[54] See Hölbl 2001, 24.

285/4 BC. In 282 he was crowned as the king of Egypt. The rule of Philadelphus was marked by opulence, but his era was not without wars. The strife between Philadelphus and his step-brother Ptolemy Keraunos was at its peak in the 280s BC. The First Syrian War (274 – 271 BC) was a clash with the Seleucid king Antiochus I who tried to annex parts of Syria and Anatolia into his empire. The Chremonidean War (267 – 261 BC) was a struggle over the domination of the Aegean between Ptolemaic Egypt and a coalition of Greek city-states.[55] At the time of Philadelphus' reign, the Greek mainland suffered from the attacks of the Celts. Despite its location, Egypt also suffered from the Gallic invasions. Magas of Cyrene, the step-brother of Ptolemy II Philadelphus hired a group of Gallic mercenaries to fight against Philadelphus. However, the Ptolemaic king defeated them. The Second Syrian War (260 – 253 BC) was a contest between Philadelphus and Antiochus II. The war ended with the marriage of Antiochus and Berenice Syra.[56]

Known for his voluptuous and extravagant way of life, Ptolemy II Philadelphus was also a supporter of the arts and sciences. The foundation of the Museion and the New Library probably took place during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter, but reached its prime during the rule of Philadelphus.[57] He and his first wife Arsinoe I, daughter of Lysimachus, had three children, Ptolemy (III Euergetes), Lysimachus and Berenice (Syra). This marriage, however, ended in divorce because of the accusations that Arsinoe I was plotting against her husband.[58] Philadelphus married his full-sister Arsinoe II in the mid-270s. The marriage, the first between close kin in Ptolemaic Egypt, caused a stir in the Greek population because marriages between full siblings were an outrage in traditional Greek thought. The poets addressed the practice in different ways. In the *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (*Id*. 17.128-133), Theocritus defended it by referring to the ἱερογαμία of Zeus and Hera. Sotades, a satiric poet, however, did not care for euphemisms when he referred to the marriage with a

[55] See Hölbl 2001, 40-43.

[56] See Hölbl 2001, 43-45.

[57] See Fraser 1972, 320-335.

[58] Schol. Theoc. 17.128. See Carney 2013, 67-70.

controversial remark "you are thrusting your prick into an unholy hole" (*CA* fr. 1: Εἰς οὐχ ὁσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς).[59]

Arsinoe II Philadelphus (316 – 270 or 268 BC) was the first child of Ptolemy I Soter and Berenice I. At the age of fifteen she married the sexagenarian Lysimachus, one of the Successors of Alexander.[60] She had three sons with him, namely Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Philip. After Lysimachus lost his life at the Battle of Corupedium (281 BC), Arsinoe married her half-brother Ptolemy Keraunos. This ill-fated marriage did not last for long because Keraunos murdered the two sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus and Philip, soon after the wedding.[61] After these events, Arsinoe fled first to Samothrace, but soon she came back to Egypt and eventually married Ptolemy II Philadelphus. She died in 270 or 268 BC and was deified afterwards.

An enigmatic figure was Philotera, the sister of Philadelphus and Arsinoe II. Little is known about her life apart that she was the youngest of the three and that she had died before the death of Arsinoe II (270 or 268 BC). Callimachus' *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* testifies that she had been deified.[62] We know that she received both Greek and Egyptian cults after her death.

Ptolemy III Euergetes (284 – 222 BC) became the king of Egypt in 246 BC. The same year he married Berenice II (267/266 – 221 BC), the daughter of Magas of Cyrene and Apama. The early stage of the rule of Euergetes is framed by the Third Syrian War.[63] The synopsis of the events that led to the war is as follows. The sister of Euergetes, Berenice Syra, was married to Antiochus II, the king of the Seleucid kingdom. Antiochus II was, however, poisoned, likely by his previous wife Laodice. Thus broke out strife about the succession rights between Berenice Syra's son and the sons of Antiochus II and Laodice. Berenice asked for help from her brother and so Euergetes decided to invade Syria in order to rescue his sister and to help her enthrone her son as the king of the Seleucid Empire. Euergetes was, however, not able to save

[59] See Cameron 1995, 18-20.

[60] For this period, see Carney 2013, 31-48.

[61] Just. 24.3.1-10. See Carney 2013, 49-64.

[62] See Chapter 4.2.

[63] For the war, see Hölbl 2001, 48-51 and Huss 2001, 338-352.

his sister. Euergetes was forced to return to Egypt due to an uprising of native Egyptians.[64]

Berenice II (267/266 – 221 BC) was, like Callimachus, a Cyrenean. She was a child of Magas of Cyrene and the Seleucid princess Apame. Berenice II married Demetrius the Fair, a king of Cyrene, in 249 BC. This was an unhappy marriage which ended when Berenice assassinated her husband after learning of his infidelity.[65] After that, Berenice arrived in Alexandria and became the wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes. This marriage ended the hostilities between Ptolemaic Egypt and Cyrene. Berenice II and Euergetes had several children, namely Ptolemy (IV Philopator), Magas, Lysimachus, Alexander, Arsinoe (III) and Berenice. Berenice II was killed at the instigation of her son Ptolemy IV Philopator in 221 BC.

Greeks and Egyptians: some characteristics of Ptolemaic Egypt

In this section, I aim to shed light on the cultural context in which Callimachus wrote his encomiastic poetry. The Lagid rule appears to have been a balancing act between Greek and Egyptian cultures: "The Ptolemaic court must have presented the curious spectacle of an Egyptian drama played by Greek actors in Egyptian costume."[66] At first glance, the functions of a βασιλεύς and a Pharaoh were difficult to combine. *SH* 922.9 portrays Ptolemy I Soter with the epithet δουρικλειτός, 'spear-famous'; this designation stresses that the Macedonian kings acquired their status by showing skill and bravery on the battlefield.[67] An Egyptian king was mainly a religious leader, an embodiment of Horus, who preserved the proper world order (*ma'at*) by performing

[64] See Veïsse 2004, 3-5.

[65] Just. 26.3.3-6.

[66] Assmann 2002, 373. We do not know whether or not the first Ptolemies were crowned as Pharaohs. The *Rosetta Stone* testifies that Ptolemy IV Philopator was crowned by a Memphite priest. It appears that Ptolemy I Soter was not crowned Pharaoh. For this, see the discussion of Gorre (2009, 216-219) on an unnamed Memphitean priest "X" who did not consider Ptolemy to have been a legitimate Pharaoh.

[67] See also *Suda* s.v. Βασιλεία: οὔτε φύσις οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδιδοῦσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡγεῖσθαι στρατοπέδου καὶ χειρίζειν πράγματα νουνεχῶς• οἷος ἦν Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι Ἀλεξάνδρου. τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν κατὰ φύσιν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησεν ἡ συγγένεια διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀδυναμίαν. τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν προσήκοντας βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι σχεδὸν ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης.

the appropriate rituals. However, as a defender of the *ma'at*, a Pharaoh could destroy its enemies with military force.

There were indeed many overarching aspects in these two styles of kingship. The career of Alexander the Great and the idea that his nature was divine, for instance, resonates with Egyptian beliefs. One should also remember that the Egyptian concepts concerning kingship evolved through time: "While kingship as an institution may have continued fairly constantly throughout the more than three thousand year history of ancient Egypt, just what the office signified, how the holders of the position understood their role, and how the population perceived this individual do not constitute uniform concepts that span the centuries without change."[68] It is obvious that Ptolemy II Philadelphus was in many respects a different king than, say, Horemheb (18th Dynasty), but they represented the same office upon which the Two Lands relied.

However, it seems possible that the first Ptolemies were rather eager to abide by the traditional Egyptian beliefs. This is underlined, for example, by the practice of sibling marriages, a hyper-correct variant of the old Pharaonic practice, influenced by the mythical narratives about the marriage of the first Egyptian king and queen, Osiris and Isis.[69] In truth, we have only a few certain examples of this practice in the Pharaonic court: Mentuhotep II married his full sister Nefuru III in c. 2000 BC and Amenemhet IV married his sister Nefrousobek in c. 1800 BC. Other than these, there is little evidence about sibling-marriages in the Egyptian court before the Ptolemies. Khensa, one of the wives of the Kushite king Piye, was probably his sister.

The concept of kingship in the Hellenistic kingdoms was influenced by the Greek ruler cult, which had its roots in the career of Alexander the Great. This ruler cult found its fullest and most elaborate expression in Lagid Egypt.[70] Fraser thinks that the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies was a Greek phenomenon, but he admits that the Egyptian traditions contributed to the success of the cult.[71] The most important cults of

[68] Silverman 1995, 49.

[69] It is, however, contested whether or not the sibling marriages of the Ptolemies were influenced by the Pharaonic example. For this, see Buraselis 2008.

[70] See Fraser 1972, 213-246.

[71] Fraser 1972, 214, 218.

the early Ptolemies are as follows. Ptolemy I Soter initiated the cult of Alexander, which helped the Ptolemies to portray themselves as successors of Alexander. This cult probably centred on the tomb of Alexander, located in Alexandria. Ptolemy II Philadelphus had a decisive role in the development of the ruler cult in Ptolemaic Egypt, but it is not surprising that Arsinoe II had a prominent role in this endeavour as well. Philadelphus established the cult of the Theoi Adelphoi in the 270s BC. When Arsinoe II died, she became a σύνναος θεά and therefore her statues were to be placed besides the main gods in every temple in Egypt. She also received her own priestess, the *canephoros*. Philadelphus did not initiate more cults, but his son, Ptolemy III Euergetes, established the cult of Theoi Euergetai in 243/2 BC. Euergetes also introduced the cult of Theoi Soteres that revered his grandfather, Ptolemy I Soter.

Eberhard Otto lists three strategies through which an Egyptian king legitimized his right to rule. These are inheritance (*die Legimitität durch das Erbe*), prowess (*die Legimitität durch die Wirksamkeit*) and myth (*die Legimitität durch die mythologische Begründung*).[72] The Greeks also utilized these strategies, as the case of Alexander the Great confirms. First, inheritance: The Pharaonic titulary of Alexander alludes to the royal protocol of Nectanebo II, the last native king of Egypt (reigned 360–342 BC), emphasizing continuity from the last native branch of the Egyptian kings.[73] Second, prowess: During the takeover of Egypt, Alexander wished to portray himself– according to an age-old Egyptian topos–as a divine liberator who dispels the enemies of Egypt. Third, myth: In the *Alexander romance*, a pseudo-historical source, Alexander was the son of Nectanebo II, and the god Ammon as well. This tale narrates how Nectanebo travelled into the Macedonian court and seduced Olympias, the mother of Alexander, in the form of the ram-headed god Ammon. The half-divine character of Alexander helped the Ptolemies narrow the gap between the roles of the Egyptian and the Greek king.

The anti-Persian propaganda was a prominent part of the Ptolemaic ideology: "Haben die Perser die Götterbilder verschleppt, so bringen die Ptolemäer sie zurück; haben die Perser die Tempel zerstört, so bauen die Ptolemäer sie wieder auf und

[72] Otto 1969, 389.

[73] Hölbl 2001, 79; Moyer 2011, 87-88.

errichten zudem neue Heiligtümer; haben die Perser die heiligen Tiere getötet, so lassen die Ptolemäer den Tierkulten nie dagewenese Aufmerksamkeit zuteil warden."[74] A salient feature was also the building programme of Egyptian temples. Great Egyptian monuments built or restored by the Ptolemies were, for instance, the Temple of Isis at Philae and the Temple of Horus at Edfu. In addition, the cult of Serapis was developed in order to create a Graeco-Egyptian god. This cult was based on the Memphitean cult of Osiris-Apis to which certain Greek elements were added.[75]

A Hellenistic king ruled with the help of royal φίλοι. They were trustworthy and loyal companions of the king who helped him in various matters.[76] According to Strootman:

> The *philoi* first of all created and maintained bond between the dynasty and cities; furthermore, they were advisors of the king in all his undertakings, the accountants of the royal finances, the functionaries and tax-collectors who administered the provinces, the king's representatives in cities and his ambassadors at foreign courts, and most of all the generals and admirals who commanded troops and ships.[77]

In addition, a number of intellectuals from different fields of knowledge (e.g., astronomers, biologists, engineers, grammarians, mathematicians, philosophers) had ties with the Ptolemaic court. Other poets in addition to Callimachus that were close to the Ptolemaic court were, for instance, Alexander of Aetolus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Asclepiades of Samos, Lycophron of Chalcis, Philicus of Corcyra, and Posidippus of Pella.[78] By surrounding himself with the best scholars, a Ptolemaic king increased his κλέος in the competitive world of Hellenistic kingdoms.

Even though it seems that the immediate circles of a Ptolemaic king were predominantly Greek, we know by name some members of the Egyptian upper class

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[74] Pfeiffer 2008, 9. See also, Huss 1994, 46.

[75] For the creation of Serapis, see Borgeaud & Volokhine 2000, 61-75.

[76] On these, see for instance, Fraser 1972, 101-105 and Strootman 2014, 118-135. For a list of φίλοι from the rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, see Weber 1993, 138-148.

[77] Strootman 2014, 119-120.

[78] Weber 2011, 233.

who were close to the court.[79] These include, for example, Esisout-Petobastis,[80] a High Priest of Memphis, and Smendes, both of whom had a decisive role in implementing dynastic cults during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[81] Senou in turn was governer of Coptos, but also an intendant of the harem of Philadelphus in Alexandria.[82] It is also worth emphasizing that the cultural and ethnic diversity of the Ptolemaic kingdom manifests itself clearly in the military.[83] According to Diodorus Siculus (19.80.5), a great number of Egyptians fought in Ptolemy's army at the Battle of Gaza (312 BC). Pausanias (3.6.5) relates that Egyptians were in the fleet that Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent to Greece during the Chremonidean war (266 BC). In addition, according to the *Mendes Stele*, there were sons of the Egyptian elite among his bodyguards.[84]

In terms of administration, Egypt was bureaucratically divided into nomes, small political units, which were under the control of the central government. According to Joseph Manning,[85] "[i]n the historical period, the political structure of nomes served as a means for the king to establish loyal officials throughout Egypt." Alexander the Great allowed the native Egyptian nomarchs, the heads of the nomes, to stay in office after his takeover;[86] Nectanebo, the grandchild of Pharaoh Nectanebo's sisters, was a nomarch under the rule of Ptolemy I Soter.[87]

In shaping their image as the legitimate successors of the Pharaonic tradition, the Ptolemies evidently received advice from Greeks such as Hecataeus of Abdera, a historian, who had written a treatise on Egyptian matters.[88] Yet there were native Egyptian experts who helped the Ptolemaic court as well.[89] I will concentrate on the figure of Manetho, a contemporary of Callimachus, as he was one of the most

[79] The native Egyptian "self-representation" continued and flourished during the Ptolemaic rule. For this, see See Lloyd 2002, 117-136 and Baines 2004, especially 34-49.
[80] See Gorre 2009, 285-296.
[81] Fischer-Bovet 2014, 314.
[82] Fischer-Bovet 2014, 315.
[83] Barbantani 2014, 302-306.
[84] For Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and police, see Fischer-Bovet 2014, 161-166.
[85] Manning 2003, 31-32.
[86] Hölbl 2001, 12.
[87] Hölbl 2001, 27.
[88] See the discussion of Fraser 1972, 496-505.
[89] See Legrand 2002.

influential Egyptians working at the Ptolemaic court.[90] We know some details of Manetho's life. He was born in the prestigious Sebennytic family and thus had probably been a priest of Ra in Heliopolis. Manetho had a thorough knowledge of Greek culture, but he consulted the Egyptian priestly records as well.[91] According to Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 361f-362a), Manetho instructed Ptolemy I Soter about the god Serapis. It seems that he was active until the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246 – 222 BC).[92] Manetho inspected the age-old Egyptian narratives with a critical eye, and assisted the Ptolemies in finding unifying aspects between the Greek and Egyptian styles of kingship.

We have, in fact, evidence that Manetho synchronized the Egyptian and the Greek myths to provide an Egyptian lineage for the Ptolemies. In order to clarify this, let us inspect how he covers the myths about Argos and the Danaids.[93] These Danaid myths relate the transference of religious ideas between Egypt and Greece, but are of significance in legitimizing the rule of the Ptolemies as well. The genealogy of the Danaid line is as follows. Epaphus was born from Io's affair with Zeus. Epaphus had one daughter, Libya, whose twin sons, Belus and Agenor, were sired by Poseidon. Danaus and Aegyptus were sons of Belus and his wife Achiroe. Just like his forefathers, Danaus was the king of Egypt, and his story provides the basis of the foundation legend of Argos. According to Greek myth, he had fifty daughters, the Danaids, whereas his brother Aegyptus had fifty sons. Aegyptus wanted his sons to marry the Danaids, but Danaus opposed and fled to Argos with his daughters. Finally, Danaus agreed to Aegyptus' will only if his sons came to Egypt. They did, but Danaus instructed his daughters to murder the sons on the wedding-night. Aegyptus' sons were murdered with one exception: Hypermnestra spared Lynceus who would be king of Argos after Danaus. Manetho refers to this Egypto-Argive myth when he links the Egyptian king

[90] An interesting comparison to Manetho is Berossos. He was active in the early Seleucid court and wrote a study about the history of Babylon (*Babyloniaca*). This work, which survives only in fragments, preserved in other author's writings, is written in Greek, but draws heavily on the Babylonian sources.

[91] Joseph *Ap*. 1.73: Μάνεθως δ' ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστιν· γέγραφεν γὰρ Ἕλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον.

[92] See Verbrygghe & Wickersham 2001, 96.

[93] Callimachus frequently utilized the Danaid myths in his poems. For these, see Chapters 3.1, 4.1 and 5.2.

Sethos and his brother Harmaïs with Aegyptus and Danaus. The passage of the Αἰγυπτιακά is preserved in Flavius Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 1.102 = *FGrHist.* 609 F 9:

> ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Αἴγυπτος· λέγει γάρ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθως ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἅρμαϊς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

> The country is called "Egypt" from this same name, because it is said that Sethos was called Aigyptos, and his brother Harmais was called Danaos. (Trans. Verbrygghe & Wickersham 2001, 159)

Manetho alters the Egyptian myths in such a manner that they provide an Egyptian origin for the Ptolemies: "Hence, through this process of focalization, the emergence of the Danaos family is portrayed as deriving from the division of an historical Egyptian royal family, a division that constitutes the foundation of a cultural and mythological community."[94] We have no reason to doubt that Manetho participated in shaping the image of the Ptolemies as rightful rulers of Egypt. According to Ian Moyer, the fact that the earliest Ptolemies purposely associated themselves with Nectanebo II, born in Sebennytos, could indicate the influence of Manetho who was also of Sebennytic origin.[95]

It is difficult to examine whether the Alexandrian high poetry had an Egyptian audience. Manetho must have been familiar with, for instance, the poetry of Callimachus, but he was certainly not an archetype of an Egyptian working for Ptolemaic society. The indigenous priests and scribes were indeed a heterogeneous group, but due to the requirements of the Ptolemaic regime, at least the majority of the scribes had to learn Greek, which displaced Demotic as the new administrative language. This was done by initiating an extensive undertaking to create a bilingual cadre of scribes by means of tax-concessions and a programme of education.[96] It appears that the scribal class was vital to the Ptolemies because they mediated between

[94] Aufrère 2011, 45. See also Mendels 1990, 101.

[95] Moyer 2011, 88.

[96] Thompson 1994, 75.

the Greeks and the Egyptians. By introducing Greek as the administrative language, the Ptolemies created a new audience for the poets of their courts. There is unfortunately little evidence about the education of the scribes,[97] but we know from a Ptolemaic Greek school book that contemporary Alexandrian poetry was taught in schools along with Homer, the tragedians and New Comedy.[98] The amount of Greek that a scribe needed varied, but I think it was likely that some scribes would have wanted to study texts that provided a challenge, such as Callimachus' poetry.

Egyptians of high standing must have been fluent in Greek, but we have evidence that Greek culture influenced lower ranks as well. For instance, in his discussion on the literature found in the Fayum villages during the Graeco-Roman period, Peter van Minnen proposes (at least for the Egyptian priests of the village of Tebtynis) "that Greek culture provided a stimulus to the Egyptian priests and that it made them rethink and reformulate their own traditions, perhaps even to approach these traditions with the help of Greek ways of thinking".[99] However, the main bulk of the papyri that van Minnen has collected come from the period when the Romans ruled Egypt. During the age of Callimachus, the urbanization of the Egyptian χώρα was less advanced than during the Roman rule, and therefore it seems that the Egyptian priests were not particularly interested in acquiring Greek literary texts then. However, this impression could be caused by the fact that few papyri have survived from the age of Callimachus to the present day in the first place.[100]

One assumes that at least some scribes could well have been familiar with Callimachean verses, given that his poems likely circulated across Egypt. In his article on the tax rolls from Karanis, Herbert Youtie noted that an Egyptian official had inserted a very rare word from Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice* in one of the registers: he referred to the tongue of a mousetrap with the poetic word ἀνδίκτης.[101] These tax rolls date in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but according to papyrological evidence we

[97] See Vierros 2012, 37-39.

[98] See Parsons 2011, 139-141.

[99] Van Minnen 1998, 169.

[100] Van Minnen 1998, 113.

[101] Youtie 1970. Harder 54c 32-33: τοῖσ]ι [δὲ] διχθαδίους εὐτύκασεν φονέας, / ἴπό ι ν ι τ' ἀνδίκτην τε μάλ' ε̣ἰδότα μ̣ι α ι κρὸν ἀλέ̣ι σθαι.

know that Alexandrian poetry circulated in the χώρα during the Ptolemaic rule as well. A famous example is the bilingual archive of Ptolemy, a katochos of the Memphite Serapeum, and his younger brother Apollonius (second century BC).[102] In addition to demotic texts, their archive contained, for example, an excerpt of Euripides' *Telephus* and an astronomical treatise attributed to Eudoxus of Knidos, but also Alexandrian court poetry, namely epigrams AB 115-116 of Posidippus.[103]

In order to place the Egyptianizing readings of the encomiastic poetry of Callimachus in a wider context, a glimpse at the interaction between Greek and Demotic literature is necessary. Demotic script gradually replaced Hieroglyphic (which was still used mainly in funerary papyri) and Hieratic as an administrative and legal script after the mid-seventh century BC. By the late fifth century, Demotic was used in narrative literature and during the Ptolemaic period it was also used in scientific and cultic literature.[104] Thanks to the newly awakened interest in Demotic texts,[105] we now know a great deal more about the interaction between Greek and Demotic literature than before. There could have been interplay between Greek and Demotic literature before the Macedonian takeover of Egypt because, according to Diogenes Laertius (8.89), some had claimed that the *Dialogues of Dogs* of Eudoxus of Cnidus was a translation from Egyptian. Demotic narratives (for instance, the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, the *Dream of Nectanebo* and likely the *Oracle of the Potter*) were translated into Greek,[106] but it is possible that Greek literature influenced Egyptian literary tradition as well.[107] Finally, I would like to conclude this section with an example of the respectful attitude of the Ptolemies towards Egyptian literature. According to the *Satrap Stele* (CG 22182), Ptolemy I Soter had brought back to Egypt divine images, but also texts from the Egyptian temple libraries that were stolen by the Persians. Kim Ryholt

[102] Clarysse 2010, 65.

[103] P.Louvre 7172.

[104] Ryholt 2010, 709. Several different types of literature were produced in Demotic, namely, the aforementioned narrative literature, teachings, prophecies, legal literature, scientific literature, medical texts, cult and ritual texts, magical texts, writings about priestly knowledge, onomastica, mythological narratives, hymns and poetry, and funerary literature. For these, see Ryholt 2010, 712-731.

[105] See Rutherford 2015, 24-25.

[106] Rutherford 2015, 27-28. For the *Oracle of the Potter*, see Chapter 3.2.

[107] For example, the Demotic Inaros-Narratives may have been influenced by Greek literature. See Ryholt 2013b, 72-78 and Rutherford 2016.

thinks that "[h]ad these texts not been considered of utmost importance, they would hardly have been mentioned so prominently by Ptolemy".[108]

The life of Callimachus

Callimachus' biographical details are unclear. We do not know the exact date of his birth or death.[109] Fortunately, we can date some of his poems. Fr. 392 Pf. celebrates the wedding of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II (279 – 274 BC). The *Hymn to Delos* refers to the defeat of Gallic mercenaries (mid-270s BC). The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* was written shortly after the death of Arsinoe II (270 or 268 BC). The *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice* were written in the mid-240s BC. The *Victory of Sosibius* could be written in the 230s, but more probably in the 240s.[110] These dates underline the longevity of the literary career of the Cyrenean poet. The *vita* of Callimachus is reconstructed primarily from three sources. These are the Byzantine encyclopaedia *Suda* (*Test*. 1 Pf.), the writings of a Byzantine scholar John Tzetzes (*Test*. 14 Pf.) and the biographical poetry of Callimachus.[111]

Let us begin with the *Suda*. According to it,[112] Callimachus was of Cyrenean descent, his father's name was Battus, his mother's Mesatma. Callimachus was married

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[108] Ryholt 2013a, 24.

[109] The propositions about his birth year range from 320 to 303 BC, and about his death year from 245 to 235 BC. See Lehnus 1995, 6-12 and Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 2-3.

[110] For the problems surrounding the date of the *Victory of Sosibius*, see the introduction to Chapter 5.

[111] See also *Test*. 2-13 and 15-22 Pf.

[112] *Test*. 1 Pf. Καλλίμαχος: υἱὸς Βάττου καὶ Μεσάτμας, Κυρηναῖος, γραμματικός, μαθητὴς Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Ἰασέως, γραμματικοῦ· γαμετὴν ἐσχηκὼς τὴν Εὐφράτου τοῦ Συρακουσίου θυγατέρα. ἀδελφῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ παῖς ἦν ὁ νέος Καλλίμαχος, ὁ γράψας περὶ νήσων δι' ἐπῶν. Οὕτω δὲ γέγονεν ἐπιμελέστατος, ὡς γράψαι μὲν ποιήματα εἰς πᾶν μέτρον, συντάξαι δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην πλεῖστα. καί ἐστιν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα βιβλία ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀκτακοσία· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἦν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου. πρὶν δὲ συσταθῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ, γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, κωμυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου, ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ρκζ′, ἧς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἤρξατο τῆς βασιλείας. Τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ βιβλίων ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα· Ἰοῦς ἄφιξις, Σεμέλη, Ἄργους οἰκισμός, Ἀρκαδία, Γλαῦκος, Ἐλπίδες, σατυρικὰ δράματα, τραγῳδίαι, κωμῳδίαι, μέλη, Ἶβος (ἔστι δὲ ποίημα ἐπιτετηδευμένον εἰς ἀσάφειαν καὶ λοιδορίαν, εἴς τινα Ἶβον, γενόμενον ἐχθρὸν τοῦ Καλλιμάχου· ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ γράψας τὰ Ἀργοναυτικά) Μουσεῖον, Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν, ἐν βιβλίοις κ′ καὶ ρ′, Πίναξ καὶ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων, Πίναξ τῶν Δημοκράτους γλωσσῶν καὶ συνταγμάτων,

to a Syracusan woman. He worked as a schoolteacher at the Alexandrian Eleusis before he was introduced to Ptolemy II Philadelphus. He wrote poetry εἰς πᾶν μέτρον and is credited for writing 800 rolls. *Suda* provides only one date. It suggests that Callimachus died approximately 245 BC (καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ρκζ′, ἧς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἤρξατο τῆς βασιλείας). The entry lists a variegated catalogue of scientific treatises, ranging from ornithology (Περὶ ὀρνέων) to potamology (Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ποταμῶν, Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ποταμῶν). The *Suda* entry of Callimachus makes a reference to a dispute between him and Apollonius of Rhodes.[113]

Suda is an unsound source for biographical details. One therefore wonders how much of the information provided in Callimachus' entry can be trusted given that there are certain confusing details in it. The article fails to mention some of his most important poetical works. The *Aetia* and the *Hecale* are, for example, left unmentioned. It also suggests that Callimachus wrote all three types of Athenian drama (σατυρικὰ δράματα, τραγῳδίαι and κωμῳδίαι). We possess no evidence that Callimachus wrote drama poetry. Pfeiffer thinks that the entry acted as an introduction of the poet in the collected works of Callimachus.[114] Therefore, the notion that he wrote poetry εἰς πᾶν μέτρον encompasses all aspects of his literary works, including the *Aetia* and the *Hecale*. The note of the *Suda* that Callimachus worked as a schoolteacher in Eleusis has received much criticism. The phrase γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν suggests that Callimachus taught the basics. Alan Cameron thinks that this information cannot be correct because "[e]lementary schoolteacher was at the very bottom of the social fabrication scale."[115] Callimachus was of high Cyrenean ancestry, and it seems therefore unlikely that he had worked as an elementary teacher.

Μηνῶν προσηγορίαι κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις, Κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων καὶ μετονομασίαι, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ποταμῶν, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ θαυμασίων καὶπαραδόξων, Περὶ μετονομασίας ἰχθύων, Περὶ ἀνέμων, Περὶ ὀρνέων, Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ποταμῶν, Θαυμάτων τῶν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή.

[113] For this fictional feud, see Lefkowitz 1980, 1-19.

[114] Pfeiffer 1968, 128.

[115] Cameron 1995, 5.

Because Callimachus' *Suda* entry is uncertain, scholars have sought information from other sources. The writings of John Tzetzes (c. 1100 – 1180), a Byzantine poet and grammarian, enlighten our understanding about the early stages of Callimachus' career. We gather that Tzetzes was an enthusiast of Hellenistic poetry because he wrote a commentary on the *Alexandra* of Lycophron. Tzetzes is considered to provide the most accurate account of the poet's life.[116] In the *Prolegomena de comoedia Aristophanis*, he mentions that Callimachus was a νεανίσκος τῆς αὐλῆς, a royal youth. Tzetzes also informs us that both Callimachus and Eratosthenes were royal youths (νεανίαι ἦσαν Καλλίμαχος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης).[117] Based on the writings of Tzetzes, it appears that Callimachus was very young when he arrived in Alexandria and received the best education there.

In addition to the *Suda* and Tzetzes, the reader of Callimachus is often intrigued to perceive glimpses of a real person behind the mask of the poetic narrator. Images of unrequited love, for instance, are abundant in his poetry. Some of his epigrams agonize over the waywardness of young men, but we cannot know if these poems mirror the romantic life of the poet because Callimachean love poetry draws upon the conventions of the earlier Greek literature.[118] However, some of Callimachus' epigrams help us discover some aspects of his life. Let us look at the epigrams 21 Pf = 29 GP and 35 Pf. = 30 GP.

> Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με
> ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην.
> εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν· ὁ μέν κοτε πατρίδος ὅπλων
> ἦρξεν, ὁ δ' ἤεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης.[119]

You who walk past my tomb, know that I am son and father of Callimachus of Cyrene. You must know both: the one led his country's forces once, the other sang beyond the reach of envy. (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 179)

> Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εὖ μὲν ἀοιδήν

[116] Cameron 1995, 3-11 and Selden 1998, 300.
[117] *Test*. 14c1 Pf.
[118] See Cameron 1995, 3.
[119] The epigram continues with two lines, which are most likely an interpolation. See GP *ad loc*.

εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνῳ καίρια συγγελάσαι.

> You are walking past the tomb of Battiades, well versed in the art of song, of mixing wine and laughter perfectly. (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 179)

These two poems shed light on Callimachus' background or at least the background the poet wished to promote. The first epigram, seemingly about the father of Callimachus, focuses on the two more famous Callimachuses, namely our poet and his grandfather. The second epigram is a mock-epitaph. Both these epigrams highlight the high lineage of Callimachus, which seems to indicate that Tzetzes' information about Callimachus' being a royal youth could be accurate. All in all, it should be acknowledged that the meagre information limits firm conclusions about Callimachus' life.

That we thus do not know much about the life of Callimachus is certain. However, two aspects catch one's attention. First, he was from Cyrene and, second, he engaged in the scholarly and literary activities at the Museion. This information could allow us to clarify certain aspects of his encomiastic verse. The birthplace of Callimachus, like Alexandria, was encircled by an un-Greek landscape. Cyrene was located near the Libyan coast about 10 kilometres from the sea. The abundance of the Cyrenean land, providing three continuous harvest seasons,[120] provides a contrast with the foundation legend of the city. Cyrene was colonized because of aridness. We have several accounts of its foundation. According to Herodotus (4.150-153), the Delphic Apollo instructed the people of Thera, an island that had long suffered from drought, to establish a colony in Libya.[121] Herodotus also narrates (4.154-159) the other Cyrenean foundation legend. This story is about a man named Battus, the first of the Battiad kings. Amasis II (570–526 BC) made a truce with Cyrene. Arcesilas IV died in 440 BC and thus ended the Battiad Dynasty.

Cyrene was a Greek colony with Greek institutions, but the city was in contact with other cultures thanks to its location. According to Herodotus (4.170), the Asbystae, a Libyan tribe, taught the Cyrenean Greeks to master the four-horsed chariot.

[120] See Clayman 2014, 16-17.

[121] See also Pindar's *Pyth*. 4, 5 and 9.

Callimachus referred to the Asbystian horses in his *Victory of Sosibius* (fr. 384 Pf.). One assumes that the daily life in Cyrene was at least partly shaped by Egyptian influence. Herodotus says (4.186) that the Cyrenean women did not eat cow's flesh because the animal was associated with Isis. This Herodotean observation could point to the prominent Libyan cult of Hathor, an Egyptian goddess often portrayed as a cow.[122] In terms of the architecture of Cyrene, we know that a Temple of Isis was located at the city centre, close to the Temple of Apollo.[123] Isis was a well Hellenized goddess, but archaeologists have also unearthed votive gifts portraying Horus, an Egyptian god who was closely linked with the Egyptian king.[124] It seems possible that the bicultural Ptolemaic Egypt was not as exotic an experience to Callimachus thanks to his Cyrenean origin as it might have been to his contemporary poet Posidippus, born and raised in Macedonian Pella.[125]

The Library of Alexandria contained an extensive number of Greek texts. However, we have some evidence that it housed other than Greek literature as well. According to the pseudepigraphic *Letter of Aristeas*, seventy-two (hence the *Septuagint*) Jerusalemite scholars translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek in Alexandria during the rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. There could have been translations of Persian lore in its collections as well because, according to Pliny (*NH* 30.2.4), Hermippus, a contemporary of Callimachus, wrote a study on the works of Zoroaster. It is probable that the library contained at least translations of Egyptian books.[126] Furthermore, scholars have often neglected that libraries had a much longer history in ancient Egypt than in the Greek world. Recently, Ryholt suggests that the Egyptian temple libraries could have served as a model for the New Library of Alexandria.[127] It is almost impossible to examine the extent of the un-Greekness of the New Library, but I think that it is safe to assume that Callimachus would have encountered other than Greek

[122] Corcella 2007, 709-710.
[123] See Stucchi 1975, 100-101.
[124] Selden 1998, 390.
[125] For this, see the discussion of Stephens 2005, 231-236.
[126] Fraser 1972, 330; Legras 2002, 987-988.
[127] Ryholt 2013a.

texts during his career at the library.[128] This observation does not of course justify the argument that he had to have referred to, for instance, to Egyptian beliefs in his works.

The curiosities of the Greek world occupy the scientific and poetic works of Callimachus, but there are references to Egyptian gods in his works as well. He directly mentions Isis, Serapis and Anubis. In 57 Pf. = 18 GP, Aischylis, a young woman, visits a temple of Inachean Isis because of her mother's wish. Serapis is mentioned in epigrams 37 Pf. = 17 GP and 55 Pf. = 16 GP. One may, however, speculate on whether Serapis is a proper Egyptian deity. Fr. 715 Pf. refers to Anubis, the lord of the Underworld and the messenger of the gods. This fragment, listed among the *fragmenta incertae sedis* by Pfeiffer, survives in Strabo's account of the *dromoi* of Egyptian temples.[129] We have only the beginning of its first verse (ὁ δρόμος ἱερὸς οὗτος Ἀνούβιδος). Strabo's description gives us a possible context. The Callimachean fragment could be an ἔκφρασις of the Temple of Re-Atum at Heliopolis, the centre of education and Egyptian culture. The reference to Anubis could be of importance because it highlights the idea that only some Egyptian deities had their counterparts in the Greek pantheon. For instance, according to an often cited passage of Herodotus (2.156), in the Egyptian language, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis and Artemis Bubastis (αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὧρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἶσις, Ἄρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις). However, Anubis was one of the Egyptian gods without an obvious counterpart.[130] Because Callimachus refers to only a few Egyptian deities, one wonders whether or not this signals that Callimachus might have actually been portraying an Egyptian deity when writing, for instance, about Apollo.[131]

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[128] See the comment of Manning (2010, 93): "The extent of the relationship between Egypt's past and the new Ptolemaic state is not known, nor are the modes of interaction. The library of Alexandria may well be one locus, but it does not take great imagination to suggest that it happened often in more informal circles."

[129] Strab. 17.1.28: Τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διάθεσις τοιαύτη· κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος λιθόστρωτόν ἐστιν ἔδαφος, πλάτος μὲν ὅσον πλεθριαῖον ἢ καὶ ἔλαττον, μῆκος δὲ καὶ τριπλάσιον καὶ τετραπλάσιον, ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ μεῖζον· καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο δρόμος, καθάπερ Καλλίμαχος εἴρηκεν „ὁ δρόμος ἱερὸς οὗτος „Ἀνούβιδος." διὰ δὲ τοῦ μήκους παντὸς ἑξῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πλάτους σφίγγες ἵδρυνται λίθιναι, πήχεις εἴκοσιν ἢ μικρῷ πλείους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχουσαι, ὥσθ' ἕνα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν εἶναι στίχον τῶν σφιγγῶν ἕνα δ' ἐξ εὐωνύμων.

[130] See Von Lieven 2016, 77.

[131] See especially my discussion on the *Hymn to Delos* in Chapter 3.2.

Callimachus could have engaged Egyptian stories elsewhere in his works as well. A likely candidate is the poem about the notorious Egyptian king Busiris who was killed by Heracles (Harder 44).[132] In addition, Chiesa lists fr. 665 Pf, a fragment about a tree that Perseus planted in Memphis and frr. 472, 685, 769 Pf. We have nothing of fr. 685 Pf., and only a few words of fr. 472 Pf. and fr. 769 Pf. The text of fr. 811 Pf., listed amidst the *fragmenta incerti auctoris*, suggests that Callimachus wrote on the story of Isis and Osiris. Isabella Chiesa thinks that these works probably did not allude to Egyptian beliefs.[133] I will not discuss these fragments in this study because they are presumably not concerned with members of the Ptolemaic court.

The art of Callimachus

I will next analyze the versality and diversity of the poet with a few examples. This discussion is necessary because Callimachus' πολυειδία and his thorough comprehension of Greek literature enhanced his ability to write royal *encomia* for a variety of occasions. It was indeed a different undertaking to write a lamentation over the death of Arsinoe II than to celebrate the chariot victory of Berenice II. The collections of the New Library enabled the Alexandrian poets to study their predecessors, "to learn from them, borrow from them, shape and reshape, and refine reminiscences".[134] It appears that Callimachus was a distinguished specialist in Greek literature even in the scholarly circles of Alexandria. The compilation of the Pinakes, a massive bio-bibliography of the collections of the library, highlights his knowledge of the previous Greek literature. One assumes that Callimachus must have carefully chosen the medium through which he praised his patrons.

Let us begin with *Hecale*, an *epyllion* recapping the struggle between young Theseus and the Bull of Marathon. This poem was highly regarded in antiquity and it is unfortunate that we possess only scattered parts of it. The extant fragments of the *Hecale* suggest that the poem focused on events prior to the struggle, on the meeting between Theseus and an old woman named Hecale. The dramatic register of

[132] For this poem, see Harder 2012b, 369-375. See also Stephens 2002, 253-254.
[133] Chiesa 2012, 94-99. She also thinks that the aforementioned fr. 715 Pf. about Anubis' *dromos* is un-Callimachean.
[134] Pfeiffer 1955, 72.

Callimachus appears in an excerpt that portrays a scene in which Theseus seems to bear a resemblance to a man from Hecale's past (Hollis 42.1-6):

> δινομένην ὑπὸ βουσὶν ἐμὴν ⌊ἐφύλασσον ἄλωα·
> τὸν δ' ἀπ' Ἀφιδνάων ἵπποι φ[
> εἴκελον, οἵ τ' εἶεν Διὸς υἱέε⌊ς
> μέμνημαι καλὴν μὲν α[
> ἄλι⌊λ⌋ικα χρυσείῃσιν ἐεργομένην ἐνετῇσιν,
> ἔργον ἀρα⌊χ⌋νάων ..]´....[

> I was guarding my own threshing-floor as it was being circled under the oxen's feet, and he drove in his chariot from Aphidnae, like kings who are from Zeus … He was wearing– I remember–a fine Thessalian cloak kept together by golden pins, the work of spiders, and below it a full-length tunic.

Hecale is not the most erudite poem of Callimachus, but the above passage exhibits his bookishness nonetheless: ἄλλιξ (a Thessalian chlamys) and ἐνετή (a large brooch) are studied terms.[135] A notable feature of this passage is its attention to ordinary detail: the forlorn Hecale recognizes traces of the features of her next of kin, perhaps of her late husband,[136] from the appearance of young Theseus. She thinks that the fine robe of Theseus resembles the robe of the man from Aphidnae: Both garments are so ornamental that they appear to be works of spiders, a detail that revives her memories about bygone happiness. The poem continues with Hecale noticing yet another similarity between the two men (Hollis 45.1-2):

[135] Hollis 2009, 182.

[136] Pfeiffer (*ad loc*.) suggests Aegeus, the father of Theseus. Hollis (2009, 180-183) argues that the man is Hecale's husband.

ἁρμοῖ που κἀκείνῳ ἐπέτρεχε λεπτὸς ἴουλος
ἄνθει ἑλιχρύσῳ ἐναλίγκιος.

Recently, I think, the soft down was spreading over his cheeks too, yellow like the flower of helichryse.

The frail beard of Theseus is compared to that of another young man, possibly Hecale's late husband. This intimate and warm-hearted recognition scene underlines Callimachus' ability to examine emotions, but also to evoke them. This realism that Callimachus displays in the *Hecale* harmonizes with the aesthetics of the poetry of his era. The subject matter of the *epyllion* also highlights his style. The myth about Theseus and the Bull was a well-known one, but instead of concentrating on the fight between Theseus and the Bull, our poet brought to light an improbable meeting of the young hero and an old woman.

In the *Tomb of Simonides* (Harder 64), a poem about the fate of the tombstone of Simonides of Ceos, Callimachus experiments with the genre of the funerary epigram. It is historically ironic that a poem portraying a destroyed memorial is one of the best preserved poems of the *Aetia.* The narrator is the dead poet himself. He is enraged because Phoenix, the Acragian tyrant, has destroyed his memorial and incorporated it into the town wall (Harder 64.7-10):

πύργωι] δ' ἐγκατέλεξ̣ε̣ν ἐμὴν λίθον οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα
ἠιδέσθ̣η τὸ λέγον τόν ι̣μ̣ε Λεω̣πρέπεος
κεῖσθα̣ι̣ Κήϊον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν, ὃς τὰ περισσὰ
…..] μ̣νήμην πρῶτος ὃς ἐφρασάμην,

He [Phoenix] built my tombstone into the city-wall and had no respect for the inscription which said that I, son of Leoprepes, was lying here, the holy man from Ceos, who first invented the extra letters … and the art of mnemotechnics.

In Callimachus' poem, the destroyed inscription is read by the deceased himself. Jacqueline Klooster thinks that two particular aspects of the poem catch one's attention, simultaneously stressing the humorous setting of the poem.[137] First, the reader wonders

[137] Klooster 2011, 30-35.

where the ghost of Simonides is uttering his discontent from. Is it the town wall?[138] Second, Klooster spots a reference to a famous Simonidean poem about the battle of Thermopylae in which the Cean poet contrasts the everlasting fame of the Spartans with the debased state of their graves. Simonides, an advocate of the notion that fame outlives earthly memorials, bemoans the annihilation of his tombstone. One also senses hints of pride in Simonides plea. As the inventor of the extra letters (ω, η, ξ, ψ) and as a master of mnemotechnics, his memorial deserves better. The irony and humour of the *Tomb of Simonides* is, however, not at the expense of Simonides. Callimachus clearly pays homage to his great predecessor.[139]

Callimachus was a self-esteeming poet. One reminisces the opening of the *Aetia* in which he attacks his adversaries (Harder 1.1-2: Πολλάκι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῆι, / νήιδες οἳ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι). According to Callimachus, his enemies are also the enemies of the Muse. He furthermore compares them to the Telchines, malicious metallurgists from the early ages. This passage portrays his rivals as an envious and bad-natured tribe,[140] whereas Callimachus, having received advice from Apollo (Harder 1.23-28), the god of song and poetry, champions his novel kind of poetry and ushers his delicate songs along untrodden paths. We notice a similar motif in his *Iambus* 12 as well. This iamb, celebrating the new-born daughter of Leon, an acquaintance of Callimachus, is a poem of great complexity ("song within song within song"),[141] but also of unfortunate appearance. Its fragmentariness causes severe problems of text and interpretation, but luckily we are still able to reconstruct the bare outline of the poem. The iamb portrays the seventh-day celebration of Hebe, the goddess of youth, during which other gods are competing for the finest gift for the little goddess. The topic of the poem not only reflects the aesthetics of Hellenistic poetry – a little gift for a baby girl is the most powerful symbol – but it testifies to Callimachus' understanding of the might of his own poetry. In comparing the depictions of the birth of the daughter of Leon in *Iambus* 12 and the birth of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, Benjamin Acosta-Hughes speaks of the "immortalizing"

[138] In Harder 97-97a, the Pelasgian wall of Athens speaks. See Harder 2012b, 749-753.

[139] Harder 2012b, 513.

[140] See Harder 2012b, 13-14. For a discussion about the identity of the Telchines, see Cameron 1995, 185-232.

[141] Acosta-Hughes 2002, 120.

effect: a human event is portrayed through a divine one.[142] This effect legitimizes the voice of Callimachus as well. Whereas Apollo's gift was the greatest gift for Hebe, the poem of Callimachus was the greatest gift for the daughter of Leon.

The aforementioned excerpts stress the versatility and diversity of our poet; this augmented his τέχνη to write encomiastic poetry. The passage from the *Hecale* underlines his ability to evoke emotions through his poetry, whereas the *Tomb of Simonides* and *Iambus* 12 demonstrate his transgressing innovation and confidence in the power of song. As noted earlier, the mastery of different literary genres as well as his thorough knowledge of the previous Greek literature enabled Callimachus to compose royal *encomia* for a variety of occasions. In addition, it is evident that Callimachus was aware of the key concepts of the Egyptian beliefs, and this helped him compose *encomia* for the Ptolemies.

[142] Acosta-Hughes 2002, 123.

3 The Birth of a Divine Ruler: Ptolemy II Philadelphus

This chapter discusses the image of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the poetry of Callimachus. Whereas Callimachus only sporadically mentions Ptolemy I Soter,[143] Philadelphus often appears in his verses. These portrayals enable us to examine how his status evolved during the 280s and 270s BC.

Let me first introduce the poems in which Philadelphus appears. Of the six Callimachean hymns, three celebrate a male god. The first one rhapsodizes about Zeus (the *Hymn to Zeus*), the second (the *Hymn to Apollo*) and the fourth (the *Hymn to Delos*) about Apollo. It is obvious that the *Hymn to Delos* is a celebration of the rule of Philadelphus because Apollo refers to him as θεὸς ἄλλος (165) and Μακεδόνιος (167). He is moreover directly addressed in verse 188. The *Hymn to Zeus* refers to a contemporary king of Callimachus, and it is likely that he is Philadelphus.[144] It is also possible, but not necessarily likely, that the *Hymn to Apollo* praises Philadelphus as well.[145] Callimachus must have carefully chosen the literary formats when he praised the Ptolemaic court. Marco Fantuzzi explains the benefits of using the hymnic format:

> The hymnic genre, in fact, splendidly enhances eulogistic intentions on the author's behalf. By adopting the authoritative position granted to him in the *Hymns* by virtue of his role as a religious poet, Callimachus could easily deal with his kings qua gods. At the same time, Callimachus could have no better strategy to enhance his own role as a poet, and his prospect of gratitude from the king, than with a hymn to the gods–one of whom, Zeus, was in Hesiodic terms responsible for granting the ruler power.[146]

Outside the hymns, we know several Callimachean poems that either are explicitly about Philadelphus or (at least incidentally) refer to him. In the *Victory of Berenice*

[143] In the *Hymn to Delos* (166), Ptolemy II Philadelphus is a Σαωτήρων ὕπατον γένος. This phrase refers to the dynastic cult-titles of Soter and his wife Eurydice. Furthermore, in the *Victory of Sosibius* (fr. 384.39-43 Pf.), there is a passing allusion to Soter in a passage that portrays a Ptolemaic festival.

[144] See Chapter 3.1.

[145] See the introduction to Chapter 5.

[146] Fantuzzi 2011, 438-439. See also Hunter & Fuhrer 2002, 144-145.

(Harder 54.2), there is a reference to Philadelphus and Arsinoe II when Berenice II is described as sacred blood of the Sibling Gods. Philadelphus is a mourning husband in the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* (fr. 228. Pf.). This lamentation, written to commemorate the death of Arsinoe II, survives in a fragmentary condition, and we cannot satisfactorily analyze the role that Philadelphus played in the original poem.[147] Philadelphus must have appeared in an ἐπιθαλάμιος that celebrated his marriage with Arsinoe II (fr. 392 Pf.). Only its first verse survives to the present, but it does not mention the groom (Ἀρσινόης ὦ ξεῖνε γάμον καταβάλλομ' ἀείδειν). It is also possible that Philadelphus appeared in the other fragmentary poems of Callimachus. One possible opportunity for portraying him was in the *Galatea* (fr. 378-379 Pf.), a poem that apparently explored the Gallic invasion of Greece. Given his prominence as a destroyer of the Celts in the *Hymn to Delos*, it would not be surprising if Ptolemy II Philadelphus appeared in the *Galatea*. However, the extant fragments of the *Galateia* suggest that Callimachus paid special attention to Brennus, the leader of the Celts.

In this chapter, I place emphasis on the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Delos*. Both of these theogonic poems link the birth of a god with the rule of the contemporary king of Callimachus, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Like most Egyptian deities, Greek gods were usually conceived of as being born one way or another.[148] Aphrodite, for instance, was born from the foam of the sea whereas Dionysus was born from the thigh of Zeus. Their birth and childhood were popular themes in Hellenistic poetry. For example, apart from the *Hymn to Demeter*,[149] all Callimachean hymns inspect this topic. In addition to the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Delos*, the *Hymn to Athena* makes a brief mention (134-135) of the birth of the goddess from the forehead of Zeus. In addition, the *Hymn to Artemis* begins with a scene in which the juvenile goddess sits in her father's lap and the *Hymn to Apollo* contains an account of the youthful deeds of Apollo and Artemis. This interest in the early childhood of the gods also compares with certain scenes from the Homeric hymns. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, for example, the eponymous god

[147] See, however, Chapter 4.3.

[148] Hornung 1982, 145.

[149] Ambühl (2005, 226-227) thinks that this is because the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* lacks a description of the birth or the childhood of the goddess.

was born in the morning, but by mid-day he already mastered the lyre and in the evening he stole the cattle of Apollo.

However, the births of gods in the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Delos* provide a backdrop for examination of the role of kingship in Ptolemaic Egypt. These poems are ultimately concerned with the legitimation of the rule of a king of Egypt, namely that of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Indeed, in both hymns a previous king legitimizes the rule of Callimachus' king. An important aspect in contextualizing the Callimachean hymns is that Zeus and especially Apollo were the most important gods in the religious life of the Seleucid kingdom.[150] Callimachus' claim that Ptolemy II Philadelphus is the dearest kind of king to Zeus and Apollo should therefore be seen in light of this context in which the rivalling dynasties contested over the "ownership" of gods. However, the idea that a previous king legitimizes the rule of a contemporary king is a conspicuously Egyptian one as well: "In the theory of Egyptian kingship, the king derives his legitimacy primarily from his association with two gods: (I) Horus the son of Osiris, and (2) the Sun-god as creator, hence two names in his full five-fold titulary represent him as the earthly incarnation of Horus and as successor to Re."[151] Let us look on the royal protocol of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (adapted from Leprohon 2013, 178-179):

> Horus: *Khewen-qeni*, Brave youth
> Two Ladies: *wer pehty*, Great of strength
> Golden Horus: *sekha.en su it.ef*, Whose father enthroned him
> Throne: *weser ka ra*, The strong one of the ka of Re; (+ epithet *mery ymen*, Beloved of Amun)
> Birth: *ptolemys*, Ptolemaios

The epithet of the throne name of Philadelphus refers to the throne names of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I Soter ("Chosen by Re and beloved of Amun"). According to Hölbl, the throne name "traditionally evoked the essential character of the king in relation to the god of creation".[152] This idea resonates in Callimachus' hymns to Zeus and Delos as especially in the *Hymn to Zeus* a contemporary king

[150] See, for instance, Iossif's 2010 article on the numismatic iconography of the Seleucids.
[151] Bell 1985, 256.
[152] Hölbl 2001, 80.

receives his legitimacy from Zeus, a god who was associated with Amun during Callimachus' age.[153] In addition, the birth name was actually spelled *Sa-Ra*, the Son of Re, which underlines the importance the ruler being the offspring of the creator god.

The significance of Horus in the traditional Egyptian nomenclature is underlined by the fact that two of the five traditional names are so called Horus names. The role of this Egyptian god is of particular importance in the analysis of Callimachus' hymns to Zeus and Delos. According to the Egyptian myth, Horus was the child of Osiris and Isis. Seth, the god of death and desert, murdered and dismembered Osiris, but Isis gathered all his bodily parts except for the penis. She used her magic to reconstruct Osiris' penis in the form of a golden phallus in order to conceive Horus. Pregnant with Horus, she fled Seth's minions who threatened to kill the unborn son. Isis gave birth to Horus in the Chemmis region. As an adult, Horus avenged his father's death and killed Seth. The victory of Horus over Seth symbolizes the victory of order over chaos. This idea resonates ubiquitously in the Egyptian beliefs. Every reigning king of Egypt was an avatar of Horus. As noted earlier, the Greek counterpart of Horus was Apollo. Especially in my discussion on the *Hymn to Delos*, I will argue that this link between Horus and Apollo is crucial to our understanding of the poem.

[153] See Chapter 3.1.

3.1 The Hymn to Zeus

The *Hymn to Zeus*, the first and shortest of the Callimachean hymns, is an encomium in disguise. Concentrating on the birth and maturation of Zeus, it is an obvious initiation to the collection. The brevity of the hymn symbolizes Callimachus' distaste for composing long, epicizing poems about kings and heroes.[154] The reference to a contemporary king in verse 86 and the suggestive language, however, hint that the *Hymn to Zeus* examines the politics of the Ptolemaic Empire. The narrative finds an understated yet self-evident analogy in the life of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

To define the contents of Callimachus' hymn is easy. It inspects the birth of Zeus and his accession to power. The hymn falls into two distinct parts. After a brief introduction (1-3) the narrator examines the birth and rearing of Zeus (4-54), then the kingship of Zeus (55-90). The poem finally ends with a concluding prayer (91-96). Callimachus examines the birth and growth of Zeus via two lies. The first one is about the birthplace of Zeus. The poet argues that the god was born not in Crete, but instead in Arcadia. The second is about the accession to power of Zeus. Callimachus rejects the Homeric account that the main deity of the Greek pantheon was decided by casting lots. Instead he chooses to follow the Hesiodic version in which Zeus' extraordinary attributes made him the king of kings over his older brothers. The *Hymn to Zeus* could be one of Callimachus' earliest works. As noted before, it has been hypothesized that the poem celebrates the accession to co-regency of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284 BC). The topic of the hymn implies that it eulogizes about Philadelphus because he celebrated his birthday (the first lie) during his elevation as a co-regent with his father (the second lie).[155]

The *Hymn to Zeus* points to the debate over the role of the king in Ptolemaic Egypt by utilizing spatio-temporal deviations and allusions to the Hesiodic corpus. There are several subtexts in Callimachus' hymn, but the one I focus on is of Egyptian nature. This subtext, mirroring the Egyptian narrative about Horus in Chemmis, was made

[154] Barbantani 2011, 182.
[155] Clauss 1986, 158.

evident by Susan Stephens.[156] The discussion on the *Hymn to Zeus* serves as a prologue to the analysis of the Hymn to Delos.

The (worldly and otherworldly) context of the Hymn to Zeus

The hymn of Callimachus delves into the core of the Greek religion. Zeus, the son of Cronus and Rhea, is the supreme divinity of the Greek pantheon. Not surprisingly, starting a poem with him was a topos in Greek literature.[157] His omnipotence is, for instance, formalized in the prologue of Aratus' *Phaenomena* (1-18), a didactic poem appreciated by the Cyrenean (epigram 27 Pf. = 56 GP). Aratus' poem, unlike that of Callimachus, leans to stoicism,[158] but the two poems share a similar Hesiodic undertone. The backbone of the *Hymn to Zeus* is certainly adapted from Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Borrowing the Hesiodic connotations as a foundation of his poem, Callimachus examines new concepts about the relationship between mortals and immortals in Ptolemaic Egypt. Callimachus transforms the age-old narrative about Zeus into a panegyric about his contemporary king.

Callimachus' hymn is concerned with two kings, one mythical and one contemporary. His inspection of this subject is novel because he seems to associate the two kings very closely. We can highlight the innovation of Callimachus' hymn with a brief aside about Theocritus' *Idyll* 17. This celebration of Ptolemy II Philadelphus opens as follows (Id. 17.1-2):

> Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι,
> ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπὴν † ἀείδωμεν ἀοιδαῖς.
>
> From Zeus let us begin and, Muses, cease with Zeus, best of the immortal ones, whenever we raise our voices in song. (Trans. Hunter 2003, 77)

The beginning, an imitation of the opening of Aratus' Phaenomena, expresses conviction and assertiveness. *Idyll* 17 continues (3-4):

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[156] Stephens 1998, 171-178 and Stephens 2003, 77-114

[157] See Hunter 2003, 97-99.

[158] Kidd 1997, 10-12. See also Hunter 1995, 6-7. For a stoic celebration of Zeus, see the *Hymn to Zeus* of Cleanthes.

ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω
καὶ πύματος καὶ μέσσος· ὃ γὰρ προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν.

But of men let Ptolemy be named in the first place, at the end, and in the middle, for he is the greatest of men. (Trans. Hunter 2003, 77)

Theocritus dichotomizes the immortals and the ephemeral creatures. The divorce between the ἀθάνατοι and the ἄνδρες at the beginning of Theocritus' poem is revealing: Ptolemy II Philadelphus is the best of men yet still only a man. However, the status of Philadelphus in the *Idyll* of Theocritus is, of course, more ambigous than this for the poet refers to Philadelphus in the concluding verses (136) as ἡμίθεος.[159] In addition, Theocritus portrays (16-18) Ptolemy I Soter, the father of Philadelphus, sitting among the Olympians on Olympus, which clearly indicates that his son is more than a man.[160] It nonetheless seems that the approach of Theocritus was perhaps more traditional than that of the hymn of Callimachus that clearly pairs the unearthly rule of Zeus with the earthly rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

The *Hymn to Zeus* converges on the birth of Zeus and his accession as the ruler of the gods. However, we find little of Zeus' might in Callimachus' poem. The god is born helpless, like mortals, and his power as the leader of the gods has not yet fully materialized. The difference between baby Zeus and baby Apollo that is portrayed in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*,[161] conversable already as a foetus, is striking.

Opening the hymnic collection with the main Olympian deity reflects, on the one hand, the Macedonian practice on linking kings with Zeus.[162] On the other hand, "[f]rom the Egyptian perspective the new prominence of Zeus properly emphasized the traditional relationship of pharaoh and Amun".[163] As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 3, the throne name of Ptolemy I Soter, like that of Alexander the Great, was "Chosen by Re and beloved of Amun", whereas Philadelphus' epithet added to the

[159] See the comment of Hunter (2003, 196): "[T]he series of analogies and likenesses that have run playfully throughout the poem have raised him [Ptolemy II Philadelphus] from the "best of men" with which he began to this position [ἡμίθεος]".
[160] See Caneva 2014, 31-33.
[161] See Chapter 3.2.
[162] See Bohec-Bouhet 2002.
[163] Lorber 2011, 309.

throne name was "Beloved of Amun".[164] The role of Amun in the legitimation of the rule of Alexander the Great is well known.[165] The narrative of the *Hymn to Zeus* mirrors this idea of continuity; Zeus legitimizes the rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

The hymn of Callimachus evidently refers to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and to the *Theogony* of Hesiod. Because of this, James Clauss thinks that the addressee of the hymn of Callimachus is most likely Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[166] The reasoning is as follows. The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, like Callimachus' hymn, portrays a divine infant growing at stunning speed. In the Homeric hymn, the baby Hermes invents the lyre and steals the cattle of Apollo. The poems share several affinities in other respects as well; particularly verses 13-24 of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* could have influenced Callimachus.[167] The *Hymn to Zeus* also continuously refers to Hesiod's *Theogony*, a cosmogonical poem about the new world order, symbolized by the rise of the power of Zeus. Hunter and Fuhrer propose that Callimachus might have read the Theogony as if it were a Hesiodic Hymn to Zeus.[168] The Hesiodic subtext enabled Callimachus to portray his contemporary king as a just ruler,[169] but it also allows us to meditate the worldly dimensions of the *Hymn to Zeus*. Particularly verses 58-59 of Callimachus' hymn have been analyzed as an example of Hesiodic influence. These Callimachean verses recount how Zeus rose to power in favour of his older brothers thanks to his extraordinary attributes.

The allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and to the *Theogony* suggest that the *Hymn to Zeus* refers to the political events that took place in the Ptolemaic court during the 280s BC. In the *Theogony*, Poseidon and Hades propose that Zeus, their little brother, should be the king of Olympus. Philadelphus rose to power at the expense of his older brothers as well. This was not, however, the result of an amicable process as in the myth of Hesiod. According to Pausanias (1.7), Philadelphus killed his step-brother Argaeus and also another step-brother (who is left unnamed) who were plotting

[164] Leprohon 2013, 176, 178-179.
[165] See, for instance, Koenen 1993, 60.
[166] Clauss 1986.
[167] Clauss 1986, 161-166; Vergados 2013, 117-118.
[168] Hunter & Fuhrer 2002, 164-175.
[169] Barbantani 2011, 178-179.

against him. Furthermore, the first-born son of Ptolemy I Soter was not Philadelphus, but Ptolemy Keraunos, born from Soter's marriage to Eurydice. Keraunos, however, lost the right of succession to the throne when Soter married Berenice I who was to become the mother of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[170] The peak of the strife between Philadelphus and Keraunos took place in the mid-280s. Finally, Philadelphus was elevated to co-regency with Soter in 285/4 BC. According to an inscription discovered in Egypt (*SEG* 27.1114), Philadelphus celebrated his birthday simultaneously with the Basileia festival. The inscription reveals that the festival was celebrated in an unknown city on Dystros 12 (March 3). This could indicate that the date of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* is either March 3, 284 or March 3, 283 BC.[171]

After situating the *Hymn to Zeus* in its context, let us begin its analysis. The poem swarms with spatio-temporal deviations, but its first divergence is of genre. It opens with a question, a feature absent in the Homeric Hymns (1-4):

> Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῇσιν ἀείδειν
> λώϊον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,
> Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, δικασπόλον Οὐρανίδῃσι;
> πῶς καί νιν, Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἠὲ Λυκαῖον;

> Would anything else be better to hymn at libations of Zeus than the god himself, ever great, ever lord, router of the Titans, dispenser of justice for the sons of Uranus? But how shall we hymn him, as Dictaean or Lycaean?

Ζηνὸς, a typical Callimachean choice,[172] asserts that the topic of the hymn is to praise the main Olympian deity. Σπονδή denotes a drinking offer and παρὰ σπονδῇσιν proposes a symposium, real or fictional, during which libations were offered. In Lagid Egypt, Zeus was honoured in particular in the dynastic festival Basileia, but we have only little evidence about it. Weber thinks that the festival was founded to commemorate the death of Ptolemy I Soter,[173] but it seems that the event mingled the old Macedonian festival of Zeus Basileus with Egyptian coronation

[170] See Carney 2013, 20-23.
[171] Clauss 1986, 159.
[172] See Hopkinson 1984b, 141.
[173] Weber 1993, 172.

festivities and royal birthday ceremonies.[174] Koenen moreover suggests that the Basileia could have been linked with the Egyptian god Apis.[175] Already the beginning of the *Hymn to Zeus* indicates that it was an appropriate poem to be premiered at a dynastic festival.

In the passage, Zeus has two epithets, Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρ and δικασπόλος Οὐρανίδῃσι. The word ἐλατήρ, designating 'a charioteer' or 'one that drives away' (LSJ s.v.), is frequently utilized by both Homer and Pindar, usually in its first sense. The opening verse of *Olympian* 4 characterizes Zeus as Ἐλατὴρ βροντᾶς, a charioteer of the thunderstorm. The word appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 14, which describes the infant Hermes as ἐλατὴρ βοῶν. This phrase refers to the aforementioned incident where Hermes pilfered the cattle of Apollo. Callimachus seems to follow this sense of the word. Zeus is depicted here as a god who drove away the Πηλαγόνες. This word is also equivocal. According to the scholiast, the Pelagonians are the Giants (τῶν γιγάντων· παρὰ τὸ ἐκ πηλοῦ γενέσθαι, τουτέστι τῆς γῆς); the phrase ἐκ πηλοῦ γενέσθαι especially underlines that the Giants were offspring of Gaia. This view is further buttressed by the Suda (s.v. Πηλαγόνος: ὄνομα Γίγαντος). Wilamowitz, following Strab. 7. fr. 40, thinks that Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρ refers instead to the Titans.[176] Zeus excelled in the Titanomachy, and this episode is dealt in detail in the *Theogony* of Hesiod.[177]

In Callimachus' poem, the phrase Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα is followed by δικασπόλον Οὐρανίδῃσι. Οὐρανίδης, the offspring of Uranus, probably encompasses the whole Greek pantheon.[178] It is possible that this passage contains Egyptian connotations as well. Zeus as abolisher of the Titans is a standing Greek image, but if the hymn celebrates the young co-regnant of the Two Lands, an Egyptian undertone is probable. In acquiring the throne, a king of Egypt was required to prove his stamina and competence by at least ritually declaring a war against the enemies of the country.

[174] Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 87.
[175] Koenen 1977, 29-30.
[176] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924 I, 1.
[177] See especially West 1966, 336-338.
[178] McLennan 1977, 28-29.

For instance, one of the additional Horus names of Alexander the Great was "the brave ruler who has attacked foreign lands".[179]

The fourth verse introduces a deflection to the course of the narrative. The hymn contemplates whether Zeus was born in Crete (Δικταῖον) or in Arcadia (Λυκαῖον), a confusing twist for the Cretan version was the traditional one in antiquity, appearing in virtually all the pre-Callimachean theogonies of Zeus. The narrator elucidates the reasons behind the decision to follow the unorthodox version (5-9):

> ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον.
> Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσί φασι γενέσθαι,
> Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο;
> 'Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται'· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
> Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.
>
> My heart is in doubt, for the birth is contested. Zeus, some say you were born in the Idaean mountains; Zeus, others say in Arcadia. Which of them is telling falsehoods, father? "Cretans always lie." And indeed, Lord, the Cretans built a tomb for you; but you are not dead, you live forever.

This mosaic passage alludes to the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, to the *Hymn to Eros* of Antagoras of Rhodes and to the *Cretica* of Epimenides. From the Callimachean section Stephens unearths an elaborate web of allusions to these previous texts. This enabled the poet to examine the dimensions of kingship in the context of Lagid Egypt.[180] According to the passage, then, Callimachus decides to follow the untraditional Arcadian myth because the "Cretans always lie". The deceit of the Cretans is exemplified by the fact that they had built a tomb for Zeus, indicating the mortality of the god. The narrator strongly disagrees when he notes that Zeus lives forever (ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί).

Epimenides, a Cretan philosopher and seer, wrote in his *Cretica* (fr. 1 D-K) that Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. Epimenides draws upon *Theog*. 22-28. In the passage, the Muses address Hesiod himself while he was shepherding at

[179] Leprohon 2013, 176.
[180] Stephens 2003, 79-91.

Mt. Helicon.[181] This Hesiodic passage is about truth telling; the Muses state that they lie or speak truth according to their own wish. Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται is moreover a paradox because Epimenides was himself of Cretan origin.[182] Callimachus appears to be the first author to propose that Zeus was born in Arcadia.[183] One suspects, however, that the poet perhaps had discovered an obscure Arcadian source. Callimachus was well informed about Arcadian myths because, according to the Suda, he wrote a treatise entitled Ἀρκαδία.

Some think that Callimachus chose an alternative myth because he was correcting the false views of other writers, like that of Euhemerus who held that Zeus was not a god, but a mortal prince from Crete.[184] Others stress the historical connections between Cyrene and Arcadia. The earliest Cyrenean cult of Zeus was indeed that of Zeus Lycaeus.[185] This cult had Peloponnesian roots.[186] Furthermore, Pelasgus, the mythical first king of Arcadia, is linked with the Danaid line in Greek literature; in the *Suppliant Women* of Aeschylus, the Danaids seek refuge from Pelasgus. As we have noted, the myth of the Danaids was of importance in construing an Egyptian lineage for the Ptolemies, but the Arcadian geography also mirrors the circumstances attested for the birth of Horus in the Egyptian myth.

Verses 5-9 of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* are characterized by ambiguous imagery, as if the poet invited his readers to stay alert to what follows. For instance, Martine Cuypers highlights the significance of the word γένος: "How can the γένος of Zeus be a matter of debate?"[187] Cuypers thinks that Callimachus did not alter the word γένος because he did not want to change the quotation from the *Hymn to Eros*. Verse 4 of the

[181] For the Hesiodic passage, see West 1966, 158-167.

[182] This paradox, allegedly the cause of death of Philitas of Cos, was made evident by Diodorus Cronus. See White 1994, 144.

[183] Pausanias 8.41.1.

[184] McLennan 1977, 38. See also Callimachus' bitter remarks on Euhemerus in fr. 191.10-11 Pf.: οὔ τὸν πάλαι Πάγχαιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα / γέρων λαλάζων ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει.

[185] Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 150. Also Hdt. 4.203: ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἐς ὃ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἱζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην.

[186] Chamoux 1952, 330.

[187] Cuypers 2004, 97.

Hymn to Zeus is indeed a quotation from Antagoras' *Hymn to Eros* (Ἐν δοιῇ μοι θυμός, ὅ τοι γένος ἀμφίσβητον).

Sacred hills and flooding rivers: the birth of Zeus

After the dense introduction, Callimachus portrays the conditions of the birth of Zeus as follows (10-14):

> ἐν δέ σε Παρρασίῃ Ῥείη τέκεν, ἧχι μάλιστα
> ἔσκεν ὄρος θάμνοισι περισκεπές· ἔνθεν ὁ χῶρος
> ἱερός, οὐδέ τί μιν κεχρημένον Εἰλειθυίης
> ἕρπετὸν οὐδὲ γυνὴ ἐπιμίσγεται, ἀλλά ἑ Ῥείης
> ὠγύγιον καλέουσι λεχώιον Ἀπιδανῆες.
>
> In Parrhasia Rhea bore you, where the mountain was especially dense with thickets. Afterwards the place was sacred; nothing in need of Eileithyia, neither crawling thing nor woman approaches it, but the Apidaneans call it the primeval childbed of Rhea.

The pace of this passage is calmer than that of the preceding verses. The announcement that Rhea gave birth to Zeus in Parrhasia, in Arcadia, ends the dispute about the god's birthplace. Callimachus sketches the birthplace of Zeus as a sacred, esoteric mountain that is also called the primeval childbed of Rhea by the Apidaneans. Stephens thinks that the description unites the *Hymn to Zeus* with Egyptian beliefs.[188] The notion about a primeval mountain on which a god is born is indeed a conspicuously Egyptian one; it was a basic idea in Egyptian belief that life first appeared on a hill, rising from the ancient waters of Nun.[189] This religious concept was replicated in the Ptolemaic architecture as well, for example in the Edfu Temple, dedicated to Horus. Its construction was initiated during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes. The floor of the sanctuary gradually rises until it reaches its highest point. This point is marked by a Solar Ship that symbolizes the creation of the first mound above the primordial waters.[190] The Egyptians had a special god to represent the emerging primeval mound.

[188] Stephens 1998, 175-176.

[189] Stephens 2003, 100-101.

[190] See Finnestad 1983, 28.

The deity was Tatjenen, and he is portrayed as the creator of the gods.[191] Tatjenen was not an unknown god to the Ptolemies for he appears in the Golden Horus name of Ptolemy III Euergetes ("the one of great strength who has done beneficial things, the possessor of Sed festivals like Ptah Tatjenen and a sovereign like Re").[192]

Because of its sanctity, walking animals or reptiles (ἑρπετόν) may not enter the birthplace of Zeus. In Homer (*Od*. 4.417-418), the word refers to Proteus and in particular his ability to transform into different shapes. In Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.25-26), however, ἑρπετόν denotes Typhon, a miscreation often identified with the Egyptian god Seth. Theocritus also used the word in his *Heracliscus* (*Id*. 24.56-59). This Theocritean passage delineates how the ἑρπετά attacked the sleeping Heracles. A miraculously resourceful ten-month old baby, Heracles killed the beasts and presented them to Amphitryon, his foster father.[193] Koenen believes that the *Heracliscus* of Theocritus, a poem that clearly alludes to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was performed approximately at the same time as the *Hymn to Zeus* of Callimachus, at the agon of the Basileia in honour of Philadelphus.[194]

We also note that in the Egyptian myth Seth often dispatches snakes and scorpions against the infant baby Horus.[195] The Ptolemaic age witnessed an interest in this topic, especially in the plastic arts. A pre-Ptolemaic example is the *Metternich Stele* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 50.85), which dates to the reign of Nectanebo II (360-342 BC). One of the stelae of Horus on the crocodiles, it depicts how Seth sent scorpions against the new born Horus.

Callimachus' ὠγύγιον λέχος reminds us of Ὠγυγίη, the Island of Calypso. This Homeric phrase directs the reader's attention to *Od*. 7.244-247 in which the poet describes the island of the sea nymph. It seems that Callimachus intentionally referred to the Homeric passage because it also portrays Calypso's Island as something that mortals and gods did not approach.[196] The etymology behind Ὠγυγίη is contested, but

[191] The *Shabako Stone* and the *Great Hymn to Khnum*, for instance, portray him in this manner.
[192] Leprohon 2013, 179.
[193] For the baby Heracles' struggles against the snakes, see Ogden 2013, 63-65.
[194] Koenen 1977, 79-86. See also Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 201.
[195] See Te Velde 1977, 37-38.
[196] See Stephens 2003, 95-96. She also discusses the passage's allusion to *Theog*. 801-806.

apparently the name derives from Ogyges, the mythical king of the Boeotian city of Thebes. Some sources, however, identify him as an Egyptian. A scholiast note on verse 1206 of *Alexandra* of Lycophron, in which the Chalcidian poet mentions the sown people of Ogyges (Ὠγύγου σπαρτὸς λεώς),[197] says that he was the king of the Egyptian Thebes (ὁ Ὤγυγος Θηβῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦν βασιλεύς). The scholiast of this passage is either John or Isaac Tzetzes (or both of them), meaning that the information comes from the Byzantine era. It is therefore hypothetical whether a contemporary of Lycophron (and therefore of Callimachus)[198] would have associated the phrase ὠγύγιον λέχος with Ogyges' possible Egyptian origins or whether this is a later tradition. Ogyges, however, is a focal figure in the Greek flood myths.[199] The phrase ὠγύγιον λέχος prepares the reader for the flood that watered the dry Arcadian land after the birth of Zeus. A similar phrase appears in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* 160 in which the island of Cos, the birthplace of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, is described as a primeval island (ὠγυγία νῆσος).

Ἀπιδανῆες are the first Arcadians. According to the myth, they were descendants of Apis, the mythical king of Sparta and were seen as the first dwellers of the world. For example, in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (4.263), Apidanean Arcadians inhabited the world. The Apidaneans link the hymn of Callimachus to Egypt in two ways. Apis, the son of Phoroneus and the nymph Teledice, was the nephew of Io, the ancestress of the Danaid line. Second, Ἀπιδανῆες, the Apis-people, could make an allusion to the Apis bull,[200] the emblem of Pharaonic kingship.

We noted that verses 10-14 of the *Hymn to Zeus* mirror certain ideas that the Egyptians associated with the birth of a god. The poem continues with a detailed description of the birth of the god (15-32). In contrast to Hesiod's *Theogony*, the

[197] Ogyges' sown folk are the Thebans. According to the myth, they were born from the teeth of dragons planted by Cadmus.

[198] The chronology of Lycophron is a notorious problem (of which see Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 437-439), but I assume that he was active during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

[199] See West 1971, 43.

[200] Stephens 1998, 176.

narrative of Callimachus' hymn is concerned more with the practical details of Zeus' birth.[201]

> ἔνθα σ' ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων,
> αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ᾧ κε τόκοιο
> λύματα χυτλώσαιτο, τεὸν δ' ἐνὶ χρῶτα λοέσσαι.
> Λάδων ἀλλ' οὔπω μέγας ἔρρεεν οὐδ' Ἐρύμανθος,
> λευκότατος ποταμῶν, ἔτι δ' ἄβροχος ἦεν ἅπασα
> Ἀζηνίς· μέλλεν δὲ μάλ' εὔυδρος καλέεσθαι
> αὖτις· ἐπεὶ τημόσδε, Ῥέη ὅτε λύσατο μίτρην,
> ἦ πολλὰς ἐφύπερθε σαρωνίδας ὑγρὸς Ἰάων
> ἤειρεν, πολλὰς δὲ Μέλας ὤκχησεν ἁμάξας,
> πολλὰ δὲ Καρίωνος ἄνω διεροῦ περ ἐόντος
> ἰλυοὺς ἐβάλοντο κινώπετα, νίσσετο δ' ἀνήρ
> πεζὸς ὑπὲρ Κρᾶθίν τε πολύστιόν τε Μετώπην
> διψαλέος· τὸ δὲ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἔκειτο.
> καί ῥ' ὑπ' ἀμηχανίης σχομένη φάτο πότνια Ῥείη·
> 'Γαῖα φίλη, τέκε καὶ σύ· τεαὶ δ' ὠδῖνες ἐλαφραί.'
> εἶπε καὶ ἀντανύσασα θεὴ μέγαν ὑψόθι πῆχυν
> πλῆξεν ὄρος σκήπτρῳ· τὸ δέ οἱ δίχα πουλὺ διέστη,
> ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμαν ὕδωρ ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἔκειτο.

From the moment when your mother produced you from her great womb, immediately she searched for a stream of water in which she might cleanse the afterbirth, and therein might wash your body. But the mighty Ladon was not yet flowing nor was the Erymanthus, the whitest of waters, and the whole of Azenis was not yet irrigated. But thereafter it was to be called well irrigated. For at the time when Rhea loosened her sash, the watery Iaon bore many oaks above it, and the Melas provided a course for many wagons, many serpents made their lair above the Carnion (although it is now wet), and a man was accustomed to walk upon the Crathis and the stony Metope, thirsty. But abundant water lay under his feet. In the grip of helplessness, the lady Rhea spoke: "Dear Gaia, you too give birth; your birth pangs are light." She spoke and the goddess, lifting

[201] Sistakou 2009, 233.

up her great arm, struck the hill with her staff; it was split wide apart for her and a great stream of water poured forth.

This passage makes numerous allusions to wetness and dryness. The catalogue of the rivers demonstrates Callimachus' knowledge on matters Arcadian. Plato argued in his *Cratylus* (402b-c) that Rhea's name is etymologically derived from the verb ῥεῖν. Callimachus' words for Arcadia, Ἀπιδανῆες and Ἀζηνίς can be linked with dryness.[202] The poet narrates that Arcadia was ἄβροχος before the birth of Zeus. Ἄβροχος, 'unwetted', is a rare word and it is seldom attested in the pre-Callimachean literature. In Euripides' *Helen* (1484-1485), ἄβροχά πεδία denotes the dry Libyan Desert. However, in Ptolemaic Egypt the word ἄβροχος was used as a technical term, referring to the land that was left dry by the flood of the river Nile.[203] A great flood (μέγα χεῦμα) indeed appears after Zeus' birth, when Rhea is in search of water to cleanse the new-born and the afterbirth. This passage makes an obvious allusion to the Egyptian myth about the birth of the god Horus because the flooding of the Nile signified his birth. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, Inopus, the Delian River, floods after the birth of Apollo-Horus thanks to its subterranean connection with the Nile.[204]

The birth of Zeus ends the Arcadian section of Callimachus' hymn. The poet then narrates how Neda, a Naiad nymph, transported the divine infant to the island of Crete. There he was fed with honeycomb by the nymph Adrasteia while Amaltheia, the she-goat, provided the milk. The Corybantes danced a war-dance, simultaneously rattling their armour and spears in order to prevent Cronus from hearing the baby crying (46-49) Callimachus incorporates the traditional version about the birth of Zeus into the narrative as the god was also initially reared in a cave in Crete in the *Hymn to Zeus*.

[202] Stephens 2003, 97.

[203] Stephens 2003, 98.

[204] See Chapter 3.2.

The deeds of the hand: the rise of the power of Zeus

The second part of Callimachus' hymn juxtaposes two just rulers, one legendary (Zeus) and one contemporary (Ptolemy II Philadelphus). Callimachus describes the rise of the power of Zeus thus (55-59):

> καλὰ μὲν ἠέξευ, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφες, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ,
> ὀξὺ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχινοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον ἴουλοι.
> ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδνὸς ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια·
> τῷ τοι καὶ γνωτοὶ προτερηγενέες περ ἐόντες
> οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἐμέγηραν ἔχειν ἐπιδαίσιον οἶκον.

Fairly you grew and fairly you were nourished, heavenly Zeus, and growing up quickly, down came swiftly to your cheeks. But when you were still a child you devised all things in their completion. And so your siblings, although they were older, did not begrudge you heaven to hold as your allotted home.

Zeus, here portrayed as a young man whose beard has recently started to grow, acquires the throne of Olympus in place of his older brothers, Hades and Poseidon. The poet continues as follows (66-67):

> οὔ σε θεῶν ἐσσῆνα πάλοι θέσαν, ἔργα δὲ χειρῶν,
> σή τε βίη τό τε κάρτος, ὃ καὶ πέλας εἵσαο δίφρου.

Lots did not make you king of the gods, but the deeds of your hands; your force and might, which you have set beside your throne.

Homer thinks that Zeus rose to power by chance,[205] but Callimachus disagrees. The ἔργα χειρῶν of Zeus made him the ruler of the gods. Callimachus does not specify what he means with this phrase. The accomplishments portrayed in verse 3

[205] *Il.* 15.187-199: τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοὶ οὓς τέκετο Ῥέα / Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων. / τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς• / ἤτοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολιὴν ἅλα ναιέμεν αἰεὶ / παλλομένων, Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα, / Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι•/ γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος. / τώ ῥα καὶ οὔ τι Διὸς βέομαι φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ ἕκηλος / καὶ κρατερός περ ἐὼν μενέτω τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ. / χερσὶ δὲ μή τί με πάγχυ κακὸν ὣς δειδισσέσθω• / θυγατέρεσσιν γάρ τε καὶ υἱάσι βέλτερον εἴη / ἐκπάγλοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐνισσέμεν οὓς τέκεν αὐτός, / οἵ ἑθεν ὀτρύνοντος ἀκούσονται καὶ ἀνάγκῃ.

(Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρ, δικασπόλος Οὐρανίδῃσι) are clearly the work of a mature god. If the hymn praises Ptolemy II Philadelphus at the beginning of his co-regency (he was 23 years old at that time), a natural explanation would be that he had not had the time to achieve any noteworthy accomplishments.[206] In terms of the rise of power of Zeus, then, Callimachus favours the account of Hesiod over Homer's account. According to Hesiod (*Theog*. 881-885), Hades and Poseidon urged Zeus to be the king of Olympus. Immediately after the passage, Hesiod narrates the strife between Zeus and Typhon, an equivalent to the Egyptian myth about Horus and Seth. The battle between Zeus and Typhon is not narrated in the *Hymn to Zeus*, but this Hesiodic allusion was certainly not lost on Callimachus' audience.

Verse 66 mentions θεός ἐσσήν which, according to scholiast, means the "king of the bees" (ἐσσὴν κυρίως ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν μελισσῶν, νῦν δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀνδρῶν). The Etymological Lexicon of Orion of Thebes reads (Orion Et. s.v. Ἐσσήν): ὁ βασιλεύς. Καλλίμαχος. οὔ σε θεῶν βασιλίη ἐσσῆνα πάλιοι θέσαν. According to Pausanias (8.13.1), the priestesses of Artemis at Ephesus were referred to in this manner as well. Callimachus' *Icus* (Harder 178.23) portrays Peleus as the king of the Myrmidons using this word (Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσῆν). On the one hand, θεός ἐσσήν is reminiscent of verses 46-49, which describe how the infant Zeus was nourished with honeycomb. On the other hand, one is reminded of the bee-king of Crete, Melissus. Zeus himself is linked with bees in the Cretan myths.[207] The island of Crete had a special relationship with the bees.[208] An example of this interest is the Mallia pendant, an ornament depicting two insects, possibly bees. In their study on this amulet, Edmund Bloedow and Claude Björk also discuss its debt to Egypt.[209] In terms of this study, it is of particular importance that the bee was a hieroglyphic symbol of the ruler of Lower Egypt.[210]

[206] See Wilamowitz- Moellendorff's comment (1924 II, 11): "Dem jungen Fürsten, der eben auf den Thron gekommen ist, huldigt er, bringt also keine Taten des Zeus, denn noch hat Philadelphos keine Gelegenheit zu Taten gehabt."

[207] Bloedow & Björk 1989, 49-51.

[208] See Giuman 2008, 49-55.

[209] Bloedow & Björk 1989, 9-68.

[210] See Leclant 1975, 786-789.

Lower Egypt denotes the fertile Delta of the Nile, represented by Deshret, the Red Crown.

Greek kings acquired κλέος by appearing as just rulers. Justness and protection of the Two Lands was also one of the key responsibilities of an Egyptian king. Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus juxtaposes these concepts (79-90):

> 'ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες', ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
> θειότερον· τῷ καί σφε τεὴν ἐκρίναο λάξιν.
> δῶκας δὲ πτολίεθρα φυλασσέμεν, ἵζεο δ' αὐτός
> ἄκρῃσ' ἐν πολίεσσιν, ἐπόψιος οἵ τε δίκῃσι
> λαὸν ὑπὸ σκολιῇσ' οἵ τ' ἔμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν·
> ἐν δὲ ῥυηφενίην ἔβαλές σφισιν, ἐν δ' ἄλις ὄλβον·
> πᾶσι μέν, οὐ μάλα δ' ἴσον. ἔοικε δὲ τεκμήρασθαι
> ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι· περιπρὸ γὰρ εὐρὺ βέβηκεν.
> ἐσπέριος κεῖνός γε τελεῖ τά κεν ἦρι νοήσῃ·
> ἐσπέριος τὰ μέγιστα, τὰ μείονα δ', εὖτε νοήσῃ.
> οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλειῶνι, τὰ δ' οὐχ ἑνί, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν
> αὐτὸς ἄνην ἐκόλουσας, ἐνέκλασσας δὲ μενοινήν.

> [B]ut "from Zeus are kings"; for nothing is more divine than Zeus' kings. Therefore you chose them for your portion. You gave them cities to guard, and sat yourself in their cities' high places, vigilant for who rules the people with crooked judgements and who does the opposite. You have bestowed wealth on them, and abundant prosperity, to all, but not very evenly. One can infer this from our king, for he outsrips the rest. At evening he accomplishes what he thinks of in the morning; at evening the greatest things, the lesser, immediately he thinks of them. Others accomplish some things in a year, other things not in one; of others you yourself cut short their accomplishment and thwart their desire.

The passage is Hesiodic; ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες is a direct quotation from *Theog*. 96.[211] The Hesiodic undertone allowed Callimachus to portray his own king (86, ἡμέτερος μεδέων) as an even-handed ruler who receives his legitimacy from a

[211] See the discussion of Reinsch-Werner 1976, 63-70.

legendary king.[212] Indeed, in verse 85, Callimachus writes that Zeus allots power to rulers not evenly. The μεδέων of the poet is the dearest kind of king to Zeus. The poet portrays Ptolemy II Philadelphus as a king who receives his legitimacy from an earlier king, from Zeus, who also bears a resemblance to Horus. Cameron, however, criticizes Callimachus for neglecting here an opportunity to vigorously eulogize his king: "The implicit comparison of his accession to that of Zeus in the Hymn to Zeus opened up unlimited possibilities, yet when the poet finally reaches 'our ruler' (unnamed), he says only that 'in the evening he accomplishes what he plans in the morning; at evening the big things, the little ones straight away' (86-7). Not a word of Philadelphus's power or the extent of the Ptolemaic empire–and not a word of his divinity."[213] The argument presented in this chapter arrives at an opposite verdict. Callimachus' hymn accentuates Philadelphus' power and divinity, but mostly in Egyptian terms. Let us clarify this argument. Felix Wassermann thinks that verses 86-87 of the Hymn to Zeus refer to the Kubban Stele, erected by Ramses II.[214] This stele was found in the city of Quban (Contra Pselchis), located in lower Nubia. The part of the inscription that bears a similarity with Callimachus' hymn reads as follows:

> "They said before his majesty: 'You are like Re in all that you have done. That which your heart desires flows forth. If you wish for a plan in the night, dawn shall happen quickly, for we have seen many of your wonders since you arose as King of the Two Lands. We have not heard, nor have our eyes seen all those who shall come into existence. Everything that comes out from your mouth is like the speech of Horakhty. Your tongue is counter-balanced and your lips are straighter than the plummet exhibited by Thot."[215]

It appears that the Callimachean passage is not a verbatim quote of the *Kubban Stele*. However, the argument that the poem of Callimachus refers to the stele is

[212] The citation from *Theog*. 96 also refers to the contemporary political situation because the Ptolemies imagined themselves as descendants of Heracles, the son of Zeus and Alcmene. A Ptolemaic king was, therefore, ἐκ δὲ Διὸς.

[213] Cameron 1995, 12.

[214] Wassermann 1925, 1277.

[215] Davies 1997, 237-239.

supported by the fact that Theocritus' *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a contemporary of the *Hymn to Zeus*, uses a rather similar expression when portraying Ptolemy I Soter (*Id*. 17.12-14):

> Ἐκ πατέρων οἷος μὲν ἔην τελέσαι μέγα ἔργον
> Λαγείδας Πτολεμαῖος, ὅτε φρεσὶν ἐγκατάθοιτο
> βουλάν, ἃν οὐκ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ οἷός τε νοῆσαι.

> From his ancestors what a man for bringing to completion a mighty deed was Ptolemy, son of Lagus, whenever he laid down in his heart a plan, the like which no other man could have conceived. (Trans. Hunter 2003, 79)

It is likely that the Callimachean and Theocritean passages have been influenced by each other.[216] If both these texts were performed at the Basileia in honour of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, one may concur that the Pharaonic phraseology must have been well planned. All in all, I think it is safe to hypothesize that the Egyptianizing traits of the *Hymn to Zeus* were not lost on the audience of Callimachus. However, we will next observe that the poet utilized similar themes more explicitly in his *Hymn to Delos*.

[216] Hunter 2003, 109.

3.2 The Hymn to Delos

The *Hymn to Delos* recounts the events of the birth of Apollo.[217] This theogonic poem centres on the myths of the Cycladic island of Delos on which the patron god of Callimachus was born. In a thoroughly Callimachean touch, the minuscule island and its path from chaos to order becomes not only an emblem of Callimachus' poetic aesthetics, but also a celebration of Ptolemaic power.[218] The *Hymn to Delos*, the longest of the collection (326 verses), differs from the other hymns of Callimachus because it names a historical figure, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. At the centre of the hymn lies a most unusual tribute to a Ptolemaic ruler. Apollo, still unborn, delivers two prophecies from his mother's womb. The divine foetus foretells the future struggles between the forces of order and chaos, symbolized in the clash between the joint forces of Apollo and Philadelphus against the Celts.

A salient characteristic of Callimachus' poem is the equation between Apollo and Ptolemy II Philadelphus. This identification between a mortal and an immortal reflects, on the one hand, the dynastic cults of the Hellenistic kingdoms and, on the other, Egyptian beliefs. Apollo-Philadelphus shows a striking resemblance to Horus, the god with which every Egyptian king was identified. Most contemporary scholars agree that Callimachus' hymn alludes to indigenous Egyptian beliefs. Ludwig Koenen first proposed that the *Hymn to Delos* alludes to Egyptian apocalyptic literature, particularly to an anti-Greek polemic known as the *Oracle of the Potter*.[219] This text belongs to a tradition of native Egyptian propaganda and represents a Pharaonic topos attested in the *Prophecy of Neferti* (c. 1991-1786 BC).[220] Peter Bing and Wilhelm Mineur have further expanded our understanding on the Graeco-Egyptian facets of the *Hymn to Delos*.[221] In this Chapter, I aim to develop the argument of the aforementioned scholars and argue that the hymn of Callimachus conforms to an age-old Egyptian narrative pattern known as the prophetic Königsnovelle.

[217] Parts of this Chapter appeared in a preliminary form in Laukola 2012.
[218] See Bing 2008, 94-96.
[219] Koenen, 1983, 181-190
[220] See Assmann 1983, 357-364.
[221] Mineur 1984, 13; Bing 2008, 128-138.

The content and the context of the Hymn to Delos

The content of the *Hymn to Delos* can be outlined as follows. The nymph Asteria, when fleeing the amorous Zeus, jumped into the Mediterranean and became a floating island. Leto, pregnant by Zeus, fled throughout the Aegean Sea from the wrath of Hera, searching for a place to give birth to her son, Apollo. In an intense passage, Callimachus narrates the roaming of Leto. The nymph is desperate, but at Hera's instigation, all the lands flee out of her way. When Leto finally arrived at the island of Cos, the foetal Apollo urged her to find another island because another god, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was destined to be born there. In his second prophecy, Apollo foretold the struggle of him and Ptolemy II Philadelphus against the Celts who attacked Delphi. Eventually, Leto arrived at the floating Asteria, who welcomed her, where she gave birth to Apollo. After the birth, Asteria was called Delos. The Delian River Inopus flooded thanks to its subterranean connection to the Nile and the island became fixed in the sea. Asteria-Delos became Apollo's wet-nurse and launched a series of games for his amusement.

Because Callimachus' hymn refers to historical events, we can date it. The terminus post quem is the defeat of the Galatian mercenaries (275 BC). The terminus ante quem is the loss of the Ptolemaic fleet at the end of the Chremonidean war (261 BC). The Ptolemaic empire lost the control of Cos then; the island has a substantial role in the hymn because it is the birthplace of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Additionally, Φοίνισσα Κύρνος (19) suggests a date before the Roman occupation of Corsica (259 BC). Most scholars agree that it was written between 274 and 270 BC, but more exact dates have nonetheless been proposed. Wilhelm Mineur, for example, argues that the hymn was a birthday poem for Ptolemy Philadelphus: "7 March 274 B.C could not unreasonably be considered as the date on which Callimachus recited Delos for the first time in the Alexandrian Museum."[222]

The opening verses present the theme and testify to Callimachus' affection for singing about Delos (1-2):

[222] Mineur 1984, 18.

Τὴν ἱερήν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον ϯποτϯ ἀείσεις
Δῆλον Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφον;

Holy–O my heart, at what time … will you sing of–Delos, Apollo's nurse?

Callimachus stresses the personal tone by using the vocative ὦ θυμέ, a reminiscence of the *Hymn to Zeus* 4 (ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός). The θυμός of the poet functions as a sign of his earnestness. The poem continues with an explanation of the sacredness of the island. Delos first bathed, swaddled and addressed Apollo as a god. The narrator then reminds his audience that Apollo abominates those poets who forget to praise his Birth Island. These verses might refer to the beginning of Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* (1-2, Ἄρτεμιν [οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν ἀειδόντεσσι λαθέσθαι] ὑμνέομεν). This allusion is conjectural, but it raises one idiosyncrasy of the *Hymn to Delos*, namely the almost complete absence of Apollo's twin sister Artemis. She appears only twice, in the last verse of the poem (326, χαίροι δ' Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ ἣν ἐλοχεύσαο Λητώ) and in verse 229 that refers to the hounds of Artemis. According to Stephens, the absence of the goddess may have its roots in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*.[223] Artemis was often considered to have been born before Apollo on the island of Ortygia. Because Callimachus placed emphasis on the island of Delos, Artemis' presence was not essential. Chiesa proposes that another explanation for the lack of Artemis is that Horus did not have a sister in the Egyptian myth.[224] According to Herodotus (2.156), the Greeks identified Artemis with Bastet, a feline goddess unrelated to Horus. Because of this detail, Callimachus could have erased the goddess from the *Hymn to Delos*. The presence of the goddess was unnecessary in a poem celebrating the accomplishments of Apollo-Horus.

The idea that permeates the *Hymn to Delos* is the battle between chaos and order. The island of Delos (as Asteria), floating free on the Mediterranean, is the antithesis of the pre-Apollonian ἀνάγκη.[225] Callimachus, for instance, describes how Poseidon, the μέγας θεός, ripped the islands out of the earth with a weapon made by the Telchines,

[223] Stephens 2015, 102.
[224] Chiesa 2012, 45.
[225] See Bing 2008, 112-113.

the vicious metallurgists who would later represent Callimachus' literary adversaries in the Aetia prologue (30-35):

> ἢ ὡς τὰ πρώτιστα μέγας θεὸς οὔρεα θείνων
> ἄορι τριγλώχινι τό οἱ Τελχῖνες ἔτευξαν
> νήσους εἰναλίας εἰργάζετο, νέρθε δὲ πάσας
> ἐκ νεάτων ὤχλισσε καὶ εἰσεκύλισε θαλάσσῃ;
> καὶ τὰς μὲν κατὰ βυσσόν, ἵν' ἠπείροιο λάθωνται,
> πρυμνόθεν ἐρρίζωσε·

> Is it when in the beginning the great god, striking the mountain with the three-pointed spear that the Telchines had fashioned for him, formed the islands of the sea, and from below lifted them all from the foundations and rolled them into the sea? At the sea's bottom he fastened them root and branch, so that they might forget the mainland.

However, Asteria was the only island that was not chained to the Mediterranean Sea bed (35-40):

> σὲ δ' οὐκ ἔθλιψεν ἀνάγκη,
> ἀλλ' ἄφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες· οὔνομα δ' ἦν τοι
> Ἀστερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἤλαο τάφρον
> οὐρανόθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀστέρι ἴση.
> τόφρα μὲν οὔπω τοι χρυσέη ἐπεμίσγετο Λητώ,
> τόφρα δ' ἔτ' Ἀστερίη σὺ καὶ οὐδέπω ἔκλεο Δῆλος.

> But necessity did not constrain you, but freely you sailed upon the open seas. And your name of old was Asteria, since you leapt into the deep trough of ocean from heaven, fleeing a marriage with Zeus, like a shooting star. As long as golden Leto did not draw near you, so long were you still Asteria, and were not yet called Delos.

According to the poet, Delos was originally known as Asteria. This 'reverse catasterism'[226] and the origin of the name "Asteria" underline the mobility of the island in contrast to the other islands. Callimachus derives its name from ἀστήρ denoting 'a star' and 'a shooting star'.[227] After this αἴτιον, the hymn continues with a catalogue of

[226] Stephens 2003, 116 n. 121.
[227] See Bing 2008, 101.

places fleeing from Leto. Because Hera, in her jealousy, does not allow any place to let Leto give birth to Apollo, all the lands melt away at Leto's approach. Ares and Iris, the henchmen of Hera, keep watch on the continent and the islands (he from the Thracian mountain Haemus, she from the Ionian mountain Mimas) in order to prevent Leto from giving birth to Apollo. The giant Briareus, held captive under Mt. Aetna, is also active. The *Homeric hymn to Apollo* spends only 19 verses on Leto's flight in opposition to Callimachus' 140 verses, indicating that Callimachus specifically wanted to stress the flight of Leto. The flight enabled Callimachus to showcase his knowledge of Mediterranean geography. Yet the evaporating landscape perhaps mimics the Egyptian idea about Seth being the lord of strange natural events.

Propagandizing from the womb: the prophecies of Apollo

Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, like the *Hymn to Zeus*, finds a comparison in an Egyptian narrative about the birth of Horus. Similarly to the pregnant Isis fleeing from the evil god Seth in Egyptian myth, Leto runs away from the wrath of Hera in Callimachus' poem. The Egyptian story is attested in its bare form already in the *Pyramid Texts*.[228] For instance, *Pyr*. § 1703 reads: "O King, your mother Nut has borne you in the West; go down to the West as a possessor of your honour. Your mother Isis has borne you in Chemmis." The Greek historiographers also recognized the island of Chemmis on which Isis bore Horus, but their versions are of course expressed through their Greek beliefs.

Hecataeus of Miletus was apparently the first Greek historian to write about a floating Egyptian island that is sacred to Apollo.[229] Herodotus tells the story in more detail. He informs us that in Buto is a great temple of Leto, but also a floating island that houses a shrine of Apollo. The temple of Leto could be that of Wadjet and the temple of Apollo that of Horus.[230] Wadjet, a cobra goddess, was a local deity of Buto. One of her functions was to protect women in childbirth. Herodotus, who did not see

[228] *Pyr*. § 1214 and 1703.

[229] *FGrHist*. F 305: ἐν Βούτοις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἔστι νῆσος Χέμβις ὄνομα, ἱρὴ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος μεταρσίη καὶ περιπλεῖ καὶ κινέεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος.

[230] Lloyd 2007, 355-357.

this area with his own eyes, explains what the Egyptians think is the reason behind the floating island (2.156.1.5):

> Λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοί φασι εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐούσῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ Λητὼ ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι ἵνα δή οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἔστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρὰ Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα
>
> The Egyptians add this story to their account of it as a floating island: they say that in the island, which used not to be floating, Leto, who was one of the Eight Gods, lived, in the city of Buto, where this oracle is. She received Apollo into her charge from Isis, and hid for safety's sake in what is only now known as the floating island, when Typho came searching everywhere for him, wishing to discover the child of Osiris. (Trans. Grene 1987, 200)

Herodotus' account, a parallel to Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, does not entirely equate to Egyptian narratives about the birth of Horus. For instance, in Egyptian myth, the falcon-god does not have a sister. It seems that Herodotus' story was influenced by the Greek theogony of the Delian Apollo.[231]

In an eccentric twist, Callimachus gives a voice to the yet unborn Apollo. The god delivers two oracles from the womb of his mother (90-97, 162-195). Divine babies, of course, can perform unearthly acts in Greek myths. One is reminded, for instance, of the lyre-inventing, cattle-stealing baby Hermes in his eponymous Homeric hymn. A loquacious foetus is still an oddity even in the context of Hellenistic literature. Scholars have attempted to explain Callimachus' innovation in many different ways.[232] An explanation is that the poet is toying with Egyptian literary conventions. To begin with, the prophecies of Apollo are post eventum, a common device in Egyptian literature, especially when a Pharaoh appears in the role of a "creator and renewer of both cosmic

[231] Griffiths 1960: 93-96. See also Stephens 2003, 57-58.
[232] See Mineur 1984, 120.

and political order".[233] Bing also reminds us that Egyptian gods were often active in the womb.[234] The image of the foetal Apollo is a prosopopoeiatic device that enabled Callimachus to praise Ptolemy II Philadelphus while persevering with his poetic programme.

In addition, I propose one further explanation for the speech of the unborn Apollo. Herman te Velde thinks that the motivation behind the roaming of Isis in the original Egyptian myth could have been the fear of miscarriage caused by Seth.[235] This aspect of the myth was well known during the Ptolemaic period; in his study on the magical amulets, Campbell Bonner lists talismans from that era that pregnant women used as protection against Typhon (Seth).[236] Callimachus might have countered to this Isiadic fear of miscarriage with an image of Apollo delivering speeches from his mother's womb, dramatic evidence of his vitality.

The first oracle of Apollo is considerably shorter than the second one. Its main function could have been to habituate the audience to this unusual literary device, and thus to prepare them for the second prophecy.[237] The first prophecy in its entirety is as follows (90-97):

> 'Θήβη τίπτε τάλαινα τὸν αὐτίκα πότμον ἐλέγχεις;
> μήπω μή μ' ἀέκοντα βιάζεο μαντεύεσθαι.
> οὔπω μοι Πυθῶνι μέλει τριποδήιος ἕδρη,
> οὐδέ τί πω τέθνηκεν ὄφις μέγας, ἀλλ' ἔτι κεῖνο
> θηρίον αἰνογένειον ἀπὸ Πλειστοῖο καθέρπον
> Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα περιστέφει ἐννέα κύκλοις·
> ἀλλ' ἔμπης ἐρέω τι τομώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ δάφνης.
> φεῦγε πρόσω· ταχινός σε κιχήσομαι αἵματι λούσων
> τόξον ἐμόν· σὺ δὲ τέκνα κακογλώσσοιο γυναικός
> ἔλλαχες. οὐ σύ γ' ἐμεῖο φίλη τροφὸς οὐδὲ Κιθαιρών

[233] Stephens 2003, 120.
[234] Bing 2008, 133, especially n. 80.
[235] Te Velde 1977, 28-29.
[236] Bonner 1950, 84-85.
[237] Mineur 1984, 120.

ἔσσεται· εὐαγέων δὲ καὶ εὐαγέεσσι μελοίμην.’

> “Thebe, why, wretch, do you put to the proof your coming destiny? Do not yet compel me to prophesy against my will. The tripod seat of Pytho is not yet my concern; nor yet is the great snake dead, but still that beast with dire jaws, stretching down from the Pleistus, enwraps snowy Parnassus with its nine coils. But nonetheless I shall say something more clearly than from my laurel. Flee on. Swiftly shall I overtake you, bathing my bow in blood. You have been allotted the children of an evil-tongued woman. You will not be my dear nurse, nor will Cithaeron. I am pure and I would be in the care of those who are also pure.”

Apollo directs his angry words at Thebes because the city did not allow Leto to give birth on its ground. The god foretells how he will defeat the serpent Python and the children of Niobe, both enemies of Apollo. The offensive-tongued woman is Niobe, but one suspects that the epithet carries a topical meaning as well. Philadelphus’ former wife Arsinoe I, who was said to have been plotting against her husband, had been deported from the Ptolemaic court to Thebes.[238] She could therefore be behind the image of an insulting Theban woman. The example of Niobe might mirror Callimachean poetics about preferring quality over quantity: Niobe was the mother of fourteen children, seven girls and seven boys, who were all killed by Apollo and Artemis because Niobe bragged about the number of her children to Leto. The prediction on the destruction of Python introduces Egyptian overtones into the hymn’s narrative. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (305-309), the serpent was an offspring of Hera, its sole parent. The Homeric hymn, a hypertext of Callimachus’ poem, also explains that the serpent was reared not by Hera, but by Typhon. This reminds us of Apophis, the anguiform personification of evil and chaos in the Egyptian myth. An educated reader of Callimachus must have spotted this allusion to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.

When Apollo interjects his prophecy, no city or island obeys his command. They still fear the wrath of Hera and do not allow Leto to give birth. When Leto sees the island of Cos, Apollo begins his second prophecy. In this majestic oracle (162-195), Apollo foretells the birth of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and their joint battle against the

[238] See Mineur 1984, 127-128.

Galatians, portrayed as the late-born Titans (ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες). Apollo's second prophecy opens with a caution (162-166):

> ‘μὴ σύ γε, μῆτερ,
> τῇ με τέκοις. οὔτ᾽ οὖν ἐπιμέμφομαι οὐδὲ μεγαίρω
> νῆσον, ἐπεὶ λιπαρή τε καὶ εὔβοτος, εἴ νύ τις ἄλλη·
> ἀλλά οἱ ἐκ Μοιρέων τις ὀφειλόμενος θεὸς ἄλλος
> ἐστί, Σαωτήρων ὕπατον γένος·

You should not give birth to me here, mother. I do not blame or grudge the island, seeing it is rich and thriving in flocks, if any other is. But another god is destined to it from the Fates, the lofty blood of the Saviours.

Apollo forbids Leto giving birth on the island of Cos because another god (θεὸς ἄλλος) is destined to be born there. The other god is described further as Σαωτήρων ὕπατον γένος. Callimachus is referring to the reigning king of Egypt, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy I Soter and Berenice I who were known in the Ptolemaic dynastic cult as θεοὶ σωτῆρες.[239] Philadelphus was born on Cos because the Ptolemaic court resided there during Soter's campaigns in the east. Apollo then continues his prophecy about the future king who is so dominant that his power reaches from east to west, mirroring descriptions of the power of a Pharaoh (166-170):

> ᾧ ὑπὸ μίτρην
> ἵξεται οὐκ ἀέκουσα Μακηδόνι κοιρανέεσθαι
> ἀμφοτέρη μεσόγεια καὶ αἳ πελάγεσσι κάθηνται,
> μέχρις ὅπου περάτη τε καὶ ὀππόθεν ὠκέες ἵπποι
> Ἠέλιον φορέουσιν·

Under his diadem will come, not unwilling to be ruled by a Macedonian, both lands and the lands that dwell in the sea, as far as the ends of the earth and where the swift horses carry the Sun.

[239] See Giuseppetti 2013, 146-148.

This passage is concerned with territorial authority, and finds a distinct comparison in Theocritus' description of the territories of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in his *Idyll* 17.[240] Callimachus' phrase "both of the two lands" (ἀμφοτέρη μεσόγεια) has puzzled scholars. Instead of meaning Africa and Asia, the two continents, it probably refers to the "both inland regions" and therefore to the notion that an Egyptian ruler is the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (in Greek Μέγας Βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Ἄνω καὶ τῶν Κάτω Χωρῶν).[241] There is a similar reference to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt in the *Prophecy of Neferti*:

> Then a king will come from the South,
> Ameny, the justified, by name,
> Son of a woman of Ta-Seti, child of Upper Egypt.
> He will take the white crown,
> He will wear the red crown;
> He will join the Two Mighty Ones.[242]

The white crown, Hedjet, was the symbol of Upper Egypt, whereas the red crown, Deshret, was the symbol of Lower Egypt. The passage of Callimachus correlates with the excerpt from the *Prophecy of Neferti*, even though the Egyptian text refers to socio-political turbulence during the rule of Amenemhat I in the 12th Dynasty. From an Egyptian point of view a θεὸς ἄλλος born on the island of Cos could easily have been identified with the earlier version of the text talking about a king coming from the South. If the Callimachean passage refers to Ptolemy as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the sense of the μίτρη could also be explained: it might be the Pschent of a Pharaoh, that is, the double crown that was the combination of the red and white crown of the ruler.[243] This double crown symbolizes the Pharaoh as a unifier of Upper and

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[240] *Id*. 17.85-94: καὶ μὴν Φοινίκας ἀποτέμνεται Ἀρραβίας τε / καὶ Συρίας Λιβύας τε κελαινῶν τ' Αἰθιοπήων·/ Παμφύλοισί τε πᾶσι καὶ αἰχμηταῖς Κιλίκεσσι / σαμαίνει, Λυκίοις τε φιλοπτολέμοισί τε Καρσί /καὶ νάσοις Κυκλάδεσσιν, ἐπεί οἱ νᾶες ἄρισται / πόντον ἐπιπλώοντι, θάλασσα δὲ πᾶσα καὶ αἶα / καὶ ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες ἀνάσσονται Πτολεμαίῳ, / πολλοὶ δ' ἵππῆες, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἀσπιδιῶται / χαλκῷ μαρμαίροντι σεσαγμένοι ἀμφαγέρονται. For this passage, see Hunter 2003, 159-170.

[241] Koenen 1983, 186-187; Mineur 1984, 165-166.

[242] Lichtheim 2006a, 143.

[243] Mineur 1984, 166.

Lower Egypt. However, μίτρη appears in the vicinity of Μακηδόνι; therefore it may also refer to the diadem often worn by the Ptolemaic rulers.[244]

The *Hymn to Delos* continues with a description of the annihilation of the Gallic mercenaries by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Apollo. In a gargantuan sentence, the poet portrays the future contest against the Celtic Ares (171-187):

> καί νύ ποτε ξυνός τις ἐλεύσεται ἄμμιν ἄεθλος
> ὕστερον, ὁππόταν οἱ μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλήνεσσι μάχαιραν
> βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα
> ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες ἀφ' ἑσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος
> ῥώσωνται νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότες ἢ ἰσάριθμοι
> τείρεσιν, ἡνίκα πλεῖστα κατ' ἠέρα βουκολέονται,
> παιδ[ ]. . σα[ ].[ ] *(177a)*
> Δ̣ῳρι . [.] . [ ] .ο̣ρ̣α̣[ ]ς̣ *(177b)*
> καὶ πεδία Κρισσαῖα καὶ Ἡφαί[στο]ι̣̣ο̣ φά̣ρ̣[αγγ]ες
> ἀμφιπεριστείνωνται, ἴδωσι δὲ πίονα καπνόν
> γείτονος αἰθομένοιο, καὶ οὐκέτι μοῦνον ἀκουῇ,
> ἀλλ' ἤδη παρὰ νηὸν ἀπαυγάζοιντο φάλαγγας
> δυσμενέων, ἤδη δὲ παρὰ τριπόδεσσιν ἐμεῖο
> φάσγανα καὶ ζωστῆρας ἀναιδέας ἐχθομένας τε
> ἀσπίδας, αἳ Γαλάτῃσι κακὴν ὁδὸν ἄφρονι φύλῳ
> στήσονται· τέων αἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ γέρας, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Νείλῳ
> ἐν πυρὶ τοὺς φορέοντας ἀποπνεύσαντας ἰδοῦσαι
> κείσονται βασιλῆος ἀέθλια πολλὰ καμόντος.

> And now at some later time a common struggle will come to us, when against the Hellenes later-born Titans raising up a barbarian dagger and Celtic war, from the farthest west will rush, like snowflakes or equal in number to the stars, when they graze most closely together upon the aether…and the plain of Crisa and the glens of Hephaestus are hard pressed on all sides, and they shall see the rich smoke of the burning neighbour, and no longer only by hearsay, but already beside the temple they would perceive phalanxes of enemy, already alongside my tripods the swords and the shameless belts

[244] Chiesa 2012, 38.

and the hated shields that will line the evil path of the Galatians, a crazed tribe. Some of these shields will be my reward, others will be set by the Nile, having seen the bearers breathe their last in fire, the prizes of a much laboured king.

The poet writes that the ἄεθλος of Apollo and Philadelphus against the Gauls is ξυνός. According to the passage of Callimachus, then, the Gauls succeed in reaching no less than the tripods of the Delphian Apollo before they were intercepted. The image of Apollo-Philadelphus fighting against the forces of Ares could have a contemporary dimension. Because Apollo was the illegitimate son of Zeus and Leto whereas Ares was the legitimate son of Zeus and Hera, the fight between the two gods might thus symbolize the fight between the real-life step-brothers, Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Ptolemy Keraunos. It is perhaps of only little importance that Keraunos was actually killed during the Gallic invasion of Macedonia.

The central notion of this passage is the equation of Apolline power with the Ptolemaic sovereign. Why, then, did Callimachus amalgamate Apollo with a Ptolemaic king given that he quoted the Hesiodic (*Theog*. 96) dictum ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες in his *Hymn to Zeus* 79? There are at least two possible answers. First, as noted before, the counterpart of Apollo in the Egyptian pantheon was Horus; every reigning Egyptian king was always identified with him. Slaying the chthonic snake and the annihilation of the mutinous mercenaries are different aspects of the same fight, namely the fight against the forces of chaos.[245] Second, this image should also be interpreted against the royal imagery of other Hellenistic dynasties, such as the Seleucids. Many Seleucid kings indeed associated themselves with Apollo. In addition to the well-known link between the Seleucids and Apollo *Didymaios*,[246] their royal coinage often portrayed Apollo as an archer seated on the omphalos. This image could well have been influenced by ancient Mesopotamian-Iranian cultures that linked the bow and arrows with divine kingship.[247]

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[245] Bing 2008, 131-134.

[246] For instance, Diod. 19.90.3-4: πιστεύειν δὲ δεῖν καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν προρρήσεσι τὸ τέλος ἔσεσθαι τῆς στρατείας ἄξιον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς· ἐν μὲν γὰρ Βραγχίδαις αὐτοῦ χρηστηριαζομένου τὸν θεὸν προσαγορεῦσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φανερῶς διασημᾶναι περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἡγεμονίας Σέλευκον βασιλέα.

[247] Iossif 2011, 252-257.

The invasions of the Gallic tribes had devastated the Greek mainland in the 270s BC. The incident portrayed in the *Hymn to Delos* was, however, of little historical importance. It has been recorded in only two other sources, namely the scholia to Callimachus' hymn and Pausanias 1.7. A brief summation of the events is as follows.[248] Ptolemy II Philadelphus had hired 4000 Gauls as mercenaries in order to fight against Magas, king of Cyrene, who was preparing to attack Egypt. The mercenaries mutinied, and Philadelphus lured them to a deserted island in the Sebennytic branch of the Nile where they were killed by fire (Schol. ad. v. 175-187): ἀπάγει πρὸς τὸ στόμιον τοῦ Νείλου τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβεννυτικὸν καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε). Pausanias, however, informs us that the mercenaries died because of internecine clashes and from hunger (καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἀπώλοντο ὑπό τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ). In his *Isis and Osiris* (380d = *FGrHist* 609 F 22), Plutarch writes that according to Manetho people were burned alive as Typhonians in the city of Eileithyia (καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰλειθυίας πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν ὡς Μανεθὼς ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνείους καλοῦντες).

The prophecy of Apollo continues (188-195):

> ἐσσόμενε Πτολεμαῖε, τά τοι μαντήια Φοίβου.
> αἰνήσεις μέγα δή τι τὸν εἰσέτι γαστέρι μάντιν
> ὕστερον ἤματα πάντα. σὺ δὲ ξυμβάλλεο, μῆτερ·
> ἔστι διειδομένη τις ἐν ὕδατι νῆσος ἀραιή,
> πλαζομένη πελάγεσσι· πόδες δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρῃ,
> ἀλλὰ παλιρροίῃ ἐπινήχεται ἀνθέρικος ὥς,
> ἔνθα νότος, ἔνθ' εὖρος, ὅπῃ φορέῃσι θάλασσα.
> τῇ με φέροις· κείνην γὰρ ἐλεύσεαι εἰς ἐθέλουσαν.'

O Ptolemy who will be, these are Phoebus' predictions for you. You will praise greatly in all the days to come him who prophesied within the womb. But consider, mother. There is a small island to be seen in the water, wandering in the sea. Her feet are not in one place, but she swims with the tide like the asphodel, where the south wind, then the

[248] For Gauls in Egypt, see Barbantani 2001, 188-203.

east wind, wherever the sea may carry her. Please carry me there, for you will come to her with her consent.

The future accomplishments of Apollo and Ptolemy II Philadelphus are contrasted with the fact that neither of them is even born yet; Philadelphus is ἐσσόμενος, Apollo γαστέρι μάντις. This is both a humorous and studied praise of the reigning king of Egypt. We will next see how Callimachus interwove Greek and Egyptian meaning into this passage.

The Oracle of the Potter *and the Prophetic Königsnovelle*

Koenen thinks that the second prophecy of Apollo conforms to an anti-Greek treatise known as the *Oracle of the Potter* (or the *Apology of the Potter*, ἀπολογία κεραμέως).[249] The outline of this work is as follows. The potter, an incarnation of the creator god Chnum, goes to the island of Helios to make pottery. However, people break his pottery and drag him before the king Amenhotep. Then the potter defends himself by interpreting the breaking of the pottery as a prophetic sign. According to the potter, Typhon-Seth and his followers (τυφώνιοι, ζωνοφόροι) are terrorizing Egypt, the Nile is parched and chaos reigns in the Two Lands. Eventually, a (Horus) king will come from the sun, rescue Egypt and restore the right order.

The *Potter*, likely a translation from Egyptian,[250] survives in three papyri, all fragmentary.[251] Dating the text is troublesome; a very loose *terminus post quem* is the foundation of Alexandria (332 BC), *terminus ante quem* is the Sixth Syrian War (170-168 BC).[252] However, the *Oracle of the Potter* belongs to a tradition of native Egyptian propaganda, and it seems likely that it was updated in the light of historical events.[253] Because it appears possible that Callimachus knew an older version of the oracle,

[249] Koenen 1983, 181-190. The edition of the *Potter* is Koenen 1968. On additional corrections, see Koenen 2002: 140 n. 7. See also Huss 1994, 165-179; Koenen 2002, 139-187.
[250] Koenen 2002, 180-183; Quack 2011, 119.
[251] P. Graf (G.29787), P. Rainer (G.19 813) and P. Oxy. 2332. P. Graf is dated to the second century AD, P. Rainer and P. Oxy. are dated to the third century AD.
[252] Koenen 1968, 186-193; Huss 1994, 173.
[253] Collins 1997, 204.

Koenen argues that this version was likely pro-Greek.[254] However, if we are to believe that Callimachus knew an earlier version of the *Potter*, one supposes it should have been anti-Greek to properly match the propagandistic aims of Callimachus. In this case, the reversal of the roles in which the Greek king appears as a Horus king could have had an especially powerful effect.

There could be parallels between the *Oracle of the Potter* and the prophecies of Apollo in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. The *Oracle of the Potter*, for instance, portrays the enemies of Egypt as ζωνοφόροι, belt-wearers, whereas the *Hymn to Delos* depicts the Celts wearing ζωστῆρες. In the *Hymn to Delos*, the Inopus floods because of its subterranean connection with the Nile (206-208). This description of the flooding Inopus finds a comparison in the *Potter's Oracle* in which the Nile floods when the new Horus king is installed. In addition, the *Oracle of the Potter* narrates that the saviour king descents from Helios. This reminds us of the Egyptian belief about the Pharaoh as the son of Re. In Greek thought, Apollo and Helios were two different deities, particularly in Homeric times, but in the Hellenistic age, they were often merged.[255] Finally, both texts narrate how the intruders are destroyed by fire.

I would like to hypothesize about whether Callimachus' portrayal (171-175) of the attack of the Celts resonates with Col. III 47-48 of the *Oracle of the Potter*, which narrates how the sun does not shine any more because of the foreign domination of Egypt. Callimachus depicts how the Gauls are rushing in like snowflakes, implying that the sun will be darkened. This motif about the darkened sky is attested from the beginnings of Egyptian literature. The *Prophecy of Neferti*, for instance, echoes this topos thus:

> The sundisk, covered, shines not for the people to see,
> One cannot live when clouds conceal,
> All are numb from the lack of it.[256]

[254] Koenen 1993, 83.

[255] See Hollis 103.

[256] Lichtheim 2006a, 141.

Furthermore, it is an ancient Egyptian motif to portray the enemies of the Two Lands as a storm, and Seth was often portrayed as the master of storms.[257] Callimachus portrays the rushing Celts in such a manner that one assumes that he was referring to the Egyptian beliefs about invaders.

Even though similarities between the *Hymn to Delos* and the *Oracle of the Potter* certainly exist, it seems likely that Callimachus drew influence not from this particular text, but instead from a specific indigenous genre. I will next provide evidence of the connection between the *Hymn to Delos* and an Egyptian narrative pattern known as prophetic *Königsnovelle*.

In the late 1930s Alfred Hermann identified an influential genre in Egyptian literature called *Königsnovelle* that makes a king from the past a focal point of the narrative.[258] According to Antonio Loprieno, the characteristics of the *Königsnovelle* are: "[T]he Egyptian *Königsnovelle*, rather than to the re-presentation of the king's human traits as exhibited in literary texts, refers to his presentation as the hero of a (real or fictional) historical episode in which a state of uncertainty or deficiency is overcome by his word or his decision."[259] The *Satrap Stele*, for instance, adopts this narrative pattern, testifying that this style was known during the Ptolemaic rule. This stele, written completely in hieroglyphs and erected after the victory of Ptolemy I Soter over Demetrius Poliorcetes in Gaza in 312 BC, is a donation decree to Pe and Dep, the native gods of the city of Buto. The term "prophetic *Königsnovelle*" was later coined on the basis of Chaosbeschreibung and the traditional elements of the *Königsnovelle*.[260] The key components of the prophetic *Königsnovelle* are as follows (adapted from Dillery 2005, 390-391):

> 1. At first a king from time immemorial receives a prophecy from a seer or other prophetic figure. His decisions and actions regularly lead to the writing down of the prophecy, which in turn guarantees authentication for the entire document.

[257] See Moyer 2011, 118-120

[258] Hermann 1938. For a list of *Königsnovelle* texts, see Hofmann 2004, 32-39.

[259] Loprieno 1996, 280.

[260] See, Koenen 2002, 173.

2. The prophecy itself foretells of coming woe for Egypt. A future king will receive warning of impending invasion. The invader will then descend upon Egypt, humiliate the priests, open the temples, and slaughter the sacred animals.

3. After a period of time fixed by the prophecy the same future Pharaoh will return, or perhaps his descendent acting in his place, and will expel the invader and restore order to Egypt.

This summary demonstrates that Callimachus' hymn at least partly harmonizes with the narrative pattern of the prophetic *Königsnovelle*. The key feature of this discourse is the presence of a text within the text. In other words, there is a frame and a centrepiece.[261] In the *Potter's Oracle*, the frame is the potter's voyage to the Island of Helios and the centrepiece is the potter's prophecy. In the *Hymn to Delos*, the frame is the story of Apollo's birth and the centrepieces are the prophecies of Apollo that narrate the joint destruction of the forces of chaos by Apollo and Philadelphus. In this kind of narrative pattern, the two Egyptian kings are central: the first Pharaoh legitimizes the latter Pharaoh.[262] In Callimachus' poem, Apollo-Horus refers to Philadelphus as θεὸς ἄλλος, and it is worth remembering that if a man becomes an Egyptian king, it suggests that he had to have divine approval.[263] As a μάντις, Apollo fulfils the role of an Egyptian sage who delivers the message to a future king: "The [Egyptian apocalyptic] texts are, as should be expected, very king-centred. It is, however, interesting to notice that the king is the receiver, while the sage – or corresponding person – is the active one."[264]

We know that oracular texts circulated during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[265] Manetho appears to have been a key figure in the transmission of these texts to the Greeks.[266] As mentioned before, some of the portrayals of the Greeks were

[261] Lloyd 1982, 51; Dillery 1999, 102.
[262] Dillery 1999, 103.
[263] Hölbl 2001, 77; Dillery 2005, 399. See also Griffiths 1983, 289.
[264] Bergman 1982, 54.
[265] According to Stephanie West (2000, 161-166), the *Alexandra* of Lycophron could have been influenced by Egyptian prophetic literature.
[266] Fraser 1972, 509.

favourable, some derogatory. The *Demotic Chronicle*, for instance, scornfully speaks of the "the Big Dog", probably referring to Alexander the Great and to his famous Molossian hounds.[267] The *Prophecy of a Young Falcon* (P. Carlsberg temp. inv. 10.490), however, mentions a young falcon that restores order in Egypt. Ryholt suggests that the falcon is Alexander the Great.[268] He furthermore thinks that the Sequel to the *Dream of Nectanebo* was written in order to legitimize the rule of Macedonians in Egypt: "[I]t could well have served as political propaganda also throughout the Ptolemaic period as an attempt to deny that these rulers – as the rightful successors of Alexander – were in any way illegitimate."[269]

An example similar to the aforementioned Egyptian texts is the so called *Leper Fragment* (*FGrHist* 609 F 10) of Manetho. Belonging to the genre of prophetic *Königsnovelle*,[270] the fragment is concerned with the actions of a leprous priest, Osarseph, who leads a group of the Polluted Ones (οἱ μιαροί) in Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos. Manetho's fragment conforms to the *Königsnovelle* model, but its similarities with the *Oracle of the Potter* are also numerous. For instance, the name of the Pharaoh (Amenophis) is the same and the dire straits of the Two Lands are told in a similar way in both texts.[271] Because the work of Maneho survives in a fragmentary state of preservation, it is difficult to find parallels between it and the hymn of Callimachus.

Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* is a clear example of how the poet utilized Egyptian beliefs in his encomiastic poems, and one may suspect that the wider motive behind these allusions was propagandistic because Callimachus particularly refers to those native motifs that the Ptolemies wanted to erase. For instance, the deep-seated fear of foreign domination and the aspiration to see a native Egyptian as the king of the Two Lands manifested in prophecies such as the *Oracle of the Potter*. We should acknowledge that texts belonging to the Chaosbeschreibung narrative discourse

[267] Griffiths 1983, 283.
[268] Ryholt 2002, 237-238.
[269] Ryholt 2002, 238.
[270] Koenen 2002, 163n90.
[271] Dillery 1999, 103.

emphasize the non-Egyptian background of the conquerors.[272] All the enemies of Egypt are always minions of Seth, the lord of the foreigners. By adapting the narrative pattern of the prophetic *Königsnovelle*, Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* is especially targeted to those Egyptians working within the Ptolemaic administration. Seen in this context, Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* is a full-scale exercise in the Egyptian oracular style.

[272] For Seth as a foreigner, see Te Velde 1977, 109-151.

4 The Divine Sisters: Arsinoe II and Philotera

Whereas the previous chapter aimed to shed light on how the Greek concepts of kingship adapted to the Egyptian concepts, this chapter investigates in what manner Callimachus portrayed Queen Arsinoe II and her sister Philotera in his poetry. It first scrutinizes the Callimachean hymns to goddesses, but the emphasis is particularly placed on the analysis of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, a lamentation over the death of Arsinoe II. This poem, to whose themes the title of this chapter refers, has not yet received the attention it deserves in terms of investigating the influence that Egyptian beliefs had on the poetry of Callimachus.

Hellenistic queens were not powerless figures of the court; like kings, they often fought and defended their high status. It seems that their prominence reflects the tradition of strong royal women in the later stages of the Argead monarchy. Philip II utilized royal women as symbols of royal unity in the dynastic image of his empire. For instance, after his victory in the Battle of Chaeronea (338 BC), he erected the Philippeion in the Altis of Olympia. This monument contained statues of Philip II and his wife Olympias, and their son Alexander the Great, but also of Philip's parents Amyntas III and Eurydice.[273] An important aspect of the royal Argead women was their association with the military,[274] a feature that would continue during the Ptolemaic age as well, as Posidippus' epigram shows (AB 36.5-6):[275]

ὡς ἐφάνης, Φιλάδελφε, καὶ ἐν χερὶ δούρατος αἰχμήν,
πότνα, καὶ ἐν πήχει κοῖλον ἔχουσα σάκος·

> Thus you appeared, Brother-loving one [Arsinoe II], holding in your hand the point of a spear and on your arm, Lady, a hollow shield. (Trans. Austin & Bastianini 2002, 59)

After the death of Alexander the Great, the title 'βασίλισσα', which denoted a royal woman, emerged. Strootman thinks that this title "could function as an instrument establishing hierarchy among the royal women"; this is demonstrated with the case of

[273] See Carney 2010, 197-198.

[274] Carney 2010, 200.

[275] For this epigram portraying Arsinoe II as a new Athena, see Stephens 2004, 166-170.

the Antigonid king Demetrius Poliorcetes who had five wifes, but apparently only one of them, Phila, was a βασίλισσα.[276] The example of Demetrius highlights a particular characteristic of Macedonian dynasties, namely, the royal polygamy. Because of this, a Macedonian queen was a trustworthy favourite of the king, but she also had an important role in the "transmission of royal inheritance".[277]

In terms of this study, it is important to underline that the queen's role was significant in Egyptian society as well: "Royal women were represented with symbols borrowed both from the gods and from the king. The king maintained *maat* by sacrificing to the gods, and the queen might be represented behind him as part of this effort to maintain order."[278] According to Manetho (*FGrHist* 609 F2), the rule of an Egyptian queen regnant was declared legitimate already during the reign of Biophis (possibly Nynetjer) in the 2nd dynasty.[279] The first female king of Egypt was probably Merneith (c. 2970 BC). She may have become the sole ruler after the death of her husband Djet. However, the first confirmed female king of Egypt is Sobekneferu (1806–1802 BC), but the most famous one is Hatshepsut (1508–1458 BC). The last ruler of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, Cleopatra VII Philopator (51-30 BC), was one of the most recognized queens of the ancient world. Balancing between Greek and Egyptian notions about queenship, Ptolemaic queens were eminent symbols of the court. Their personal charisma as well as their role as patronesses of the arts motivated the poets of the Museion to sing praises about them.

Of the Ptolemaic women, Arsinoe II appears most frequently in Callimachus' poems.[280] An epithalamion (fr. 392 Pf.) celebrates the wedding between her and Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The reference to Arsinoe II as the tenth Muse in the beginning of the *Aetia* (Harder 2a) is conjectural.[281] In 5 Pf. = 14 GP, Callimachus associates Arsinoe II with Aphrodite. This epigram, about an argonaut that has been dedicated to Arsinoe-Aphrodite by a Smyrnan woman named Selenaia, juxtaposes images of marital

[276] Strootman 2014, 107.
[277] Strootman 2014, 107-108.
[278] Carney 2013, 8.
[279] For this passage, see Troy 1986, 139.
[280] See the discussion of Lelli 2002, 5-29.
[281] Harder 2012b, 106-107.

devotion, such as the halcyon (verse 10), with more sexually charged ones. In her analysis of this poem, Kathryn Gutzwiller notes that "the worship of Aphrodite as a protectress of women in marriage reflects Arsinoë's concern to promote her own devotion to her husband-brother–the source of her power–as a paradigm for the lives of her female subjects". [282] During antiquity, shells were of course used in many different functions in societies that lived close to water. In Egypt, for instance, they were sometimes used in sistrums of Hathor,[283] a deity often associated with Aphrodite.

In addition, in the early 260s BC Callimachus composed the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* in remembrance of the death of Arsinoe II. Callimachus briefly refers to Arsinoe II in the *Victory of Berenice* and in the *Lock of Berenice* in which she appears as the mother of Berenice II. The epilogue of the *Aetia* (Harder 112) might also refer to Arsinoe, but it seems more likely that Berenice II was its addressee.[284]

[282] Gutzwiller 1992b, 209.

[283] Feucht 1982.

[284] See Harder 2012b, 859-860.

4.1 The hymns to goddesses

Because the hymns to Zeus, Apollo and Delos eulogize about the contemporary king of Callimachus (*hZeus* 86: ἡμέτερος μεδέων; *hApollo* 26-27: ἐμὸς βασιλεύς; *hDelos* 165-188: Ptolemy II Philadelphus), it would be logical that hymns 3 (to Artemis), 5 (to Athena) and 6 (to Demeter) should similarly praise a queen. The hymns to goddesses are, however, more difficult to link to members of the Ptolemaic court. For example, in her article on the portrayals of royal women in Callimachus' poetry, Évelyne Prioux does not analyze hymns 3, 5 and 6 at all. According to Prioux, "[t]he manner in which these goddesses are presented, as well their experiences and their powers, are always ambiguous, leaving a large margin of uncertainty and a need for caution in establishing links to specific royal figures; it would be illusory, for example, to interpret every allusion to Hera or Athena as directly corresponding to a particular queen."[285] In addition, Artemis and Athena were not particularly prominent deities in the religious life of Ptolemaic Egypt,[286] a detail that does not spur one towards linking Ptolemaic women with the goddesses depicted in the Callimachean hymns. Aphrodite, as is evident in Callimachus' epigram 5 Pf. = 14 GP, would have naturally been associated with a Ptolemaic queen, but as far as we know Callimachus did not write a *Hymn to Aphrodite*.

However, as Mary Depew notes, the absence of Ptolemaic queens in Callimachus' hymns would be a surprising feature because the hymnic collection is constructed, likely by the poet himself, in such a manner that it constitutes a coherent whole and because Callimachus is not shy in praising the divinity of his queens elsewhere in his works.[287] Indeed, the small clues and intertextual hints suggest that the Callimachean hymns to goddesses may well reflect Ptolemaic royal women. However, hymns 3, 5 and 6 are difficult to date. We can give a fairly reliable time frame to the *Hymn to Artemis* and to the *Hymn to Athena*, but not to the *Hymn to Demeter*.

This chapter contains a concise discussion about Callimachus' three hymns to goddesses. The treatment of each hymn is similar: first I summarize their content, then

[285] Prioux 2011, 205.
[286] See Fraser 1972, 195-201.
[287] Depew 2004, 125.

contemplate the chronological aspects, and finally examine whether or not they have been influenced by Egyptian beliefs. All in all, it seems that the *Hymn to Artemis*, the *Hymn to Athena* and the *Hymn to Demeter* are less affected by Egyptian beliefs than the hymns to gods, especially the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Delos*.

The Hymn to Artemis

Callimachus' hymns often portray the birth or childhood of a deity. The *Hymn to Artemis*, situated between the hymns to Apollo and to Delos in the Callimachean collection, is no exception in this respect as it centres on the growth of the goddess from παῖς to ἄνασσα. When the poem begins, Callimachus reminds (probably referring to the *sphragis* of Apollo at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*)[288] the reader that the poets should not forget to praise Artemis as well. Then the poet portrays Artemis as a little girl, sitting on her father's lap. With insistent δός μοι commands, a realistic touch, she appeals to Zeus to give her, among others, eternal maidenhood, arrows and dancing companions. The rest of the poem is characterized by a seemingly jumbled catalogue of the cult sites of the goddess.[289] The poem ends with a scene in which Artemis defends her shrine at Ephesus against the Cimmerians.

In terms of dating the hymn, the similarity of the scenes in which a deity defends a shrine against invasion suggests contemporaneity between the *Hymn to Artemis* and the *Hymn to Delos*.[290] Therefore, a logical explanation would be that the hymn was written for Arsinoe II. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that Arsinoe II was associated with Ephesus because during her marriage with Lysimachus she stayed there. Lysimachus also renamed Ephesus after her (Arsinoeia). The image of Artemis defending Ephesus might therefore suggest that the hymn was written when Arsinoe and Lysimachus were still married. This assumption would make the *Hymn to Artemis* an earlier poem than the *Hymn to Delos* (mid-270s BC).[291]

[288] See the introduction to Chapter 5.

[289] For the structure of the *Hymn to Artemis*, see Petrovic 2007, 184-194.

[290] See Barbantani 2011, 196.

[291] Stephens (2015, 19-20) gives an overview on the problems surrounding the date of the *Hymn to Artemis*.

However, Philadelphus had another sister, Philotera, whose association with Artemis is attested in I.Didyma 115. The inscription, engraved on the base of a statue of Artemis, reads as follows: Βασίλισσαν Φιλωτέραν βασιλέως / Πτολεμαίου ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων / Ἀρτέμιδι Πυθείῃ.[292] This statue, sponsored by the Milesians, was found at Didyma, not far from Ephesus. The association between Artemis, the virgin goddess, and Philotera, the unmarried Lagid princess, appears natural in this context.[293] However, we also have evidence that Arsinoe II was associated with Artemis.[294] Therefore, if the Artemis portrayed in Callimachus' hymn alludes to a Ptolemaic woman, Arsinoe II would be the most likely candidate.

In terms of tracing non-Greek influence in the *Hymn to Artemis*, it should be first noted that Ephesian Artemis was not the traditional Greek goddess of hunting, the outdoors and virginity. At Ephesus, she was closely linked with Near Eastern deities such as Astarte or Cybele.[295] Artemis' Egyptian counterpart was Bast, but it seems that the *Hymn to Artemis* does not contain much Egyptian colouring. There are still a few instances that either mention Egypt or perhaps allude to Egyptian beliefs. Thanks to its subterranean connection with the Nile, the hymn portrays the Delian River Inopus as Egyptian (170-171):

> ἡνίκα δ' αἱ νύμφαι σε χορῷ ἔνι κυκλώσονται
> ἀγχόθι πηγάων Αἰγυπτίου Ἰνωποῖο

When the nymphs form a circle around you in the dance near the streams of Egyptian Inopus

This couplet reminds us of the description of the flooding Inopus in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. Another intertextual reference to the *Hymn to Delos* takes place in verses 248-258, which portray Artemis defending her temple at Ephesus against the Cimmerians. The multitude of the attackers, here likened to grains of sand, can be

[292] See Kotsidu 2000, 385-386.

[293] See the comment of Pfeiffer (1922, 18): "So führt auch die unvermählte Philotera diesen Titel [βασίλισσα] und für die jungfräuliche Göttin, die auf den Knieen ihres Vaters bittet δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον …, passte das Bild der jungfräulichen Königstochter".

[294] See Müller 2009, 345-348.

[295] Stephens 2015, 103.

compared with the portrayal of the Celts in the *Hymn to Delos*. As we have noted, the description of the *Hymn to Delos* of the annihilation of the Celts by the joint forces of Apollo and Ptolemy II Philadelphus is greatly influenced by Egyptian beliefs.[296]

The Hymn to Athena

The *Hymn to Athena* (or the *Bath of Pallas*) is a mimetic hymn that portrays an Argive ritual in which the cult statue of Athena was washed in the River Inachus.[297] This statue, Palladium, was captured from Troy where it was used as a protection of the city. The poet opens the hymn with a summoning of girls who are responsible for the washing of the statue, but soon moves on to write about Athena's fondness of horses and also her distaste for perfumes and mirrors; the women attending the ritual should only bring her olive oil and a comb. Then the narrator warns Pelasgian men not to look at the goddess. The punishment for this will be death. The poem encloses a cautionary tale about the consequence of sexual harassment of Athena. The myth is as follows. Athena and her friend Chariclo, a nymph, were bathing together in Boeotia. Tiresias, the son of Chariclo and Everes, accidentally saw the two naked women bathing. As a consequence, the boy lost his eyesight. Grief-ridden Chariclo pleaded for the goddess to restore the vision of her son. Athena, however, explained that she cannot undo the punishment because, according to Zeus' laws, "whoever catches sight of an immortal, where the god himself does not choose, this one sees at a great price" (101-102: ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται, / ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῶ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλω). Instead, Athena gave the gift of divination to Tiresias as compensation. In addition, Athena told Chariclo that she should be grateful that her son is only blind and not dead.[298] The hymn ends when Athena is just entering the ritual. The concluding lines describe the poet's wish that the goddess grant prosperity to Argos and to him as well.

[296] For the *Hymn to Delos*, see Chapter 3.2.

[297] Unlike other Callimachean hymns, the one to Athena is written not in hexameters, but in elegiacs.

[298] Athena is here referring to the story of Actaeon who was ripped apart by dogs because he saw Artemis bathing.

Certain textual borrowings could give us a loose *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem*.[299] The fourth verse of *AP* 5.202,[300] an epigram attributed either to Asclepiades of Samos or Posidippus of Pella, bawdily imitates verse 2 (τᾶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυασσομενᾶν) of Callimachus' hymn.[301] *AP* 5.202 must date after the *Hymn to Athena* because, as Stephens notes,[302] "allusion to the explicit sexual behaviour of prostitutes is unlikely to belong to [Callimachus'] hymn". If the writer of the epigram is Asclepiades, it would have been written in the 270s BC, but if Posidippus is the author, then it would date in 260s BC. Furthermore, Callimachus' hymn perhaps imitates Theocritus' *Idyll* 18, a poem probably written to celebrate the marriage between Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II (279 or 274 BC).[303] If the *Hymn to Athena* was written in the late 270s BC,[304] as seems probable, then its addressee might be Arsinoe II. The date of the hymn is not secure, and other dates have been proposed. For instance, Clayman thinks that the hymn was written in the 240s BC,[305] but she offers little evidence to back this claim.

Let us look into verses 45-51 in which the poet sheds light on the link between the washing of the cult statue and the Danaid family:

> σάμερον, ὑδροφόροι, μὴ βάπτετε—σάμερον, Ἄργος,
> πίνετ' ἀπὸ κρανᾶν μηδ' ἀπὸ τῶ ποταμῶ·
> σάμερον αἱ δῶλαι τὰς κάλπιδας ἢ 'ς Φυσάδειαν
> ἢ ἐς Ἀμυμώναν οἴσετε τὰν Δαναῶ.
> καὶ γὰρ δὴ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἄνθεσιν ὕδατα μείξας
> ἡξεῖ φορβαίων Ἴναχος ἐξ ὀρέων
> τἀθάνᾳ τὸ λοετρὸν ἄγων καλόν.

[299] See Stephens 2015, 20-21.

[300] Πορφυρέην μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα / Πλαγγὼν εὐίππων θῆκεν ἐπὶ προθύρων, / νικήσασα κέλητι Φιλαινίδα τὴν πολύχαρμον / ἑσπερινῶν πώλων ἄρτι φρυασσομένων. / Κύπρι φίλη, σὺ δὲ τῇδε πόροις νημερτέα νίκης / δόξαν, ἀείμνηστον τήνδε τιθεῖσα χάριν.

[301] See Sens 2011, 234-243.

[302] Stephens 2015, 20.

[303] Bulloch 1985a, 38-43.

[304] See also Fraser 1972, 656.

[305] Clayman 2014, 79-84.

> Today, do not dip your pitchers, water-carriers – today, Argos, drink from the fountains and not from the river [*sc*. the Inachus]. Today, you slave women, carry your pitchers to Physadeia or to Amymone, the daughter of Danaus. For indeed having mingled his waters with gold and blossoms, Inachus will come from the nourishing mountains bringing Athena a bath that is fair.

The context of this passage is the Greek myth according to which Poseidon dried out the Arcadian land and therefore the exile Danaus sent his fifty daughters to search for water. In fact, two famous springs of Argos were named after Physadeia and Amymone.[306] This passage examines motifs similar to those of the hymns to Zeus and Delos. In the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Delos* flood marks the birth of a god whereas in the *Hymn to Athena* water emerges when the statue of the goddess is ready to be washed. Stephens thinks that the image in which the daughters of Danaus appear as "discoverers of water" moves Argos "into the imaginary realm of Egypt".[307]

It indeed seems possible that the *Hymn to Athena* is one of those Callimachean poems that juxtapose a Greek landscape with an Egyptian one. An example similar to this is included, for instance, in the Arcadian section of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*. Although it is impossible to know whether a contemporary of Callimachus would have situated the *Hymn to Athena* at least partly in the Egyptian "imaginary realm", it is nonetheless useful to discuss the effect that this possible switch would have had on the imagery of the hymn of Callimachus.

Athena's Egyptian counterpart was Neith,[308] as Plato wrote in his *Timaeus* (21e): Αἰγυπτιστὶ μὲν τοὔνομα Νηίθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δέ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ. Plato is here referring to the people of the Egyptian city of Sais. According to Herodotus (4.180), the Libyans apotheosized an armed goddess who was associated with Athena. This goddess, perhaps familiar to Callimachus thanks to his Cyrenean background, bears a resemblance to Neith, but we do not know whether she was actually associated with Neith. In addition, on the Ptolemaic coinage, certain features of Athena Promachos

[306] Stephens 2015, 253.
[307] Stephens 2015, 238. For the myth of the Danaids as an example of the transference of religious ideas between Egypt and Greece, see Chapter 2.
[308] Fraser 1972, 195 and Von Lieven 2016, 66-67.

can be linked with Neith.[309] Neith was one of the most diverse deities of the Egyptian pantheon. This ancient goddess was initially identified with a celestial cow. Neith was a protective goddess; *Pyr*. § 1375 states that Neith stands behind a recently crowned king of Egypt. She – together with Isis, Nephthys and Selqet – protected Osiris as well. Neith was also a goddess of the Nile flood. She was worshipped in Esna and Sais, a city located near Alexandria.

The aforementioned scene of Callimachus in which the poet links the washing of the statue of Athena with the Danaids reminds us of the passage of Herodotus (2.170-171) that describes the cults of Osiris and Neith at Sais. Herodotus tells us that there is a lake near the Temple of Athena (Neith) on which "they hold, at night, an exhibition of the god's [Osiris] suffering, a performance that the Egyptians call the Mysteries." Herodotus continues and relates that "[i]t was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite from Egypt and taught in to the Pelasgian women".[310] In addition, we also have evidence that Arsinoe II was associated with Neith as, according to the Pithom Stele, Ptolemy II Philadelphus rebuilt the Temple of Neith at Sais in the 260s BC and introduced his late wife as a σύνναος θεά in this temple.[311]

The Hymn to Demeter

The Callimachean hymnic collection begins with Zeus and ends with his sister Demeter, a detail that is consonant with the Egyptian belief about masculine and feminine kingship complementing each other as depicted by Isis and Osiris. It also seems probable that Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, like the *Hymn to Zeus*, is set in Alexandria.[312] The *Hymn to Demeter* portrays a festival of the goddess, probably the Thesmophoria, which was based on the myth of Demeter and Persephone. In contrast to the cults of Artemis and Athena, the cult of Demeter was very popular in Ptolemaic Egypt.[313]

[309] Lorber 2011, 304-306.

[310] The translations of Herodotus are from Grene 1987, 205-206.

[311] Quack 2008, 284-285; Thompson 1973, 59. See also Stephens 2015, 235-236.

[312] Stephens 2015, 265-267.

[313] For the cult of Demeter in Alexandria, see Fraser 1972, 198-201.

The ritual portrayed in the *Hymn to Demeter*, like the bathing ceremony in the *Hymn to Athena*, is reserved for females. The hymn begins with a scene in which the sacred basket of Demeter, the κάλαθος, is being carried by the participants of a ritual procession. However, Callimachus does not describe the origins of the ritual in detail because he does not want to "bring a tear to Deo" (verse 17, μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἃ δάκρυον ἄγαγε Δηοῖ). The hymn instead encloses a tale about a Thessalian prince, Erysichthon, who wanted to chop down the sacred grove of Demeter in order to build a banqueting hall. Similarly to the crime of Tiresias in the *Hymn to Athena*, there is an atmosphere of sexual threat in the misdeed of Erysichthon. Demeter, disguised as Nicippe, a priestess of the goddess, speaks to the man and advises him and his companions to cease their logging. He, however, threatens Nicippe with violence. After the conversation, the goddess takes back her original form and punishes Erysichthon with an insatiable hunger. Endless polyphagia is certainly a tragic disease, but Callimachus portrays it with a lightness of touch. Erysichthon's parents are desperate, but so are their cooks because they cannot satisfy the hunger and thirst of the prince.[314] In a humorous passage (107-110), the poet recounts how Erysichthon eventually ate the cattle of his parents, a few mules, a heifer, a race-horse and a μάλουρις, presumably a white-tailed Egyptian cat.[315] The *Hymn to Demeter* ends with a brief account of the sacred procession. In the concluding verses 134-138 the narrator hails the goddess and exhorts Demeter to protect the city, to bring peace and prosperity and to "[b]e gracious to me, thrice called upon, most powerful of the divinities", (ἵλαθί μοι, τρίλλιστε, μέγα κρείοισα θεάων).

Because the hymns to Athena and to Demeter constitute a pair,[316] it seems that they were written approximately the same time. It has been argued that it is possible that the *Hymn to Demeter* could link the goddess with Philotera, the sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II.[317] This argument is based on the fact that Callimachus' hymn has overlapping phrases with the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, a lament that at least seemingly associates Philotera with Demeter. For instance, line 9 of the hymn of

[314] For the interplay between this passage and the new comedy motifs, see Stephens 2015, 264.
[315] For the feline, see Hopkinson 1984a, 166-167.
[316] See Hopkinson 1984a, 13-17.
[317] See Stephens 2015, 21-22.

Callimachus "when she followed the undetectable tracks of the girl who was carried off" (ἁρπαγίμας ὅκ᾽ ἄπυστα μετέστιχεν ἴχνια κώρας) bears a resemblance to lines 45-46 of the *Ektheosis* "She knew nothing, as yet, of you, swept from our midst by the gods" (σέο δ᾽ ἦν ἄπ̣[υστος / ὦ δαίμοσιν ἁρπαγίμα).[318] Also, certain words from the part in which the hymn speaks of the proper conduct in terms of the ritual (verse 4, ὑψόθεν αὐγάσσησθε) seem to correspond to a passage from the *Ektheosis* (verses 47-48, ‘ἔζευ Χάρι τὰν ὑπά[τ]αν ἐπ᾽ Ἄθω κολώ[ναν, ἀπὸ δ᾽ αὔγασαι) in which Philotera asks Charis, the wife of Hephaestus, to sit on Mt. Athos and gaze in order to find the origin of the smoke rising from Egypt. This argument is attractive, but we cannot know if Philotera was associated with Demeter in the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* because the poem is too damaged.[319] Besides, we do not have any evidence other than the *Ektheosis* that Philotera and Demeter might have been linked. According to the aforementioned I.Didyma 115, we know that Philotera was associated with Artemis, at least outside Egypt.

One may moreover counter this claim with the fact that the *Hymn to Demeter* also bears a resemblance to Callimachus' *Attic Thesmophoria* (Harder 63), a poem that is situated in book III of the *Aetia* and was probably written in the 240s BC. We do not have as much of the *Attic Thesmophoria* as we need to reconstruct its contents with certainty, but the remnants of the poem seem to portray a scene in which Demeter is angry at a young girl, and therefore girls are absent from the ritual of the goddess.[320] Harder 63.8 indeed reads "the mighty goddess having got angry with the girl" (]θ̣η κούρῃ π[ό]τνα χαλεψαμένη). This corresponds to verses 48-49 of the *Hymn to Demeter* in which Nicippe advises Erysichthon and his companions to stop chopping down the grove of the goddess "so that Mistress Demeter does not at all grow angry" (μή τι χαλεφθῇ / πότνια Δαμάτηρ). As we have noted, Erysichthon did not listen to the warning of Nicippe and consequently Demeter did get very angry and punished him with an insatiable hunger. However, these verbal similarities between the *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Attic Thesmophoria* are not as striking as the similarities between the

[318] The passage from the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* is translated by Nisetich (2001, 126).

[319] See my discussion on the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* in Chapter 4.2.

[320] Acosta-Hughes & Stephens (2012, 188) note that the *Attic Thesmophoria* could refer to an Egyptian story in which Isis grew angry at the son of the king of Byblos.

former and the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. It is difficult to examine points of resemblance between the two poems because the *Attic Thesmophoria* survives in such a fragmentary state of preservation, but thematically the *Hymn to Demeter* seems to have more in common with the *Attic Thesmophoria* than the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. This of course does not prove that the *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Attic Thesmophoria* were both written in the 240s BC.

I am inclined to agree with Clayman who thinks that the *Hymn to Demeter* praises Berenice II because we have evidence that she was pictorially represented in the role of Demeter in Ptolemaic Egypt.[321] In terms of chronology, the humorous tone of the *Hymn to Demeter* is similar to that of the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. In addition, it is of particular importance that Callimachus writes in the hymn about Nicippe, a priestess of Demeter, about whom we have no previous evidence in Greek literature. Clayman thinks that the poet portrayed Nicippe as an avatar of Berenice II.[322] This argument is buttressed by the name of the priestess ("victorious in horses") which agrees with the well-known interests of the queen. Clayman also argues that the appetite of Erysichthon could compare to the notorious sexual appetite of Demetrius the Fair, the former husband of Berenice II.[323]

It seems that the *Hymn to Demeter* might contain some Egyptian influence, but because mimetic hymns describe quintessentially Greek rituals, one should be careful not to read these hymns in an overtly Egyptianizing manner. Still the link between Demeter and Isis was strong during Callimachus' age, and particularly the figure of Demeter Thesmophoros hints at Isiadic influence.[324] The two goddesses were initially different, but integrated during the Hellenistic period.[325] Because the Ptolemaic era witnessed a growth of interest in the cult of Isis, the hymn of Callimachus might mirror this sentiment. As Plantzos notes, "Isis was the obvious candidate for assimilating a Ptolemaic queen: as the archetypical Egyptian wife and mother, the goddess was ideal

[321] Pantos 1987.
[322] Clayman 2014, 87.
[323] Clayman 2014, 88.
[324] Fraser 1972, 199.
[325] Tobin 1991, 200.

as the divine persona of the ruling queen or (deceased) queen-mother in a dynasty obsessed with the dynastic continuity and familial loyalty."[326]

[326] Plantzos 2011, 389.

4.2 The Ektheosis of Arsinoe

Pfeiffer lists frs. 226, 227, 228 and 229 under the title Μέλη. Of these four poems, it is probable that Arsinoe II appears in fr. 227 Pf., as the diegete (*Dieg*. X 6) informs us that it is a drinking song for the Dioscuri, but that it sings of Helen as well (Παροίνιον εἰς τοὺς Διοσκούρους·καὶ Ἑλένην ὑμνεῖ). It is possible that she was identified with Helen in this poem.[327] However, I place emphasis on the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* (fr. 228 Pf.),[328] a commemoration of the death of Arsinoe II (270 or 268 BC). Because of its fragmentary condition, it is impossible to reconstruct the course of its narrative with certainty. The poem would have extended our understanding about Callimachus' poetic register. *Callimachus ludens* is absent in the *Ektheosis*; the ubiquitous grief over the death of Arsinoe II manifests itself in every verse of the poem. The atmosphere of the poem could perhaps have resembled that of Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* in which the poet portrays the suffering and resignation of the nymph Chariclo over the blinding of her son, Tiresias. However, enough of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* has survived to investigate its imagery.

The lament introduces a lesser known member of the Ptolemaic court. The main *persona loquens* of the poem of Callimachus seems to have been Arsinoe's sister Philotera, already dead and deified before the passing of the queen. Philotera governs the best preserved part of the poem, but we cannot know for certain whether or not she appeared only in this section. The *diegesis*, for instance, does not mention her at all. The part of the poem in which Philotera appears is characterized by a series of recognitions, mirroring not only *Iliad* 22.361-437,[329] a passage about Andromache learning about the death of her husband Hector, but also the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

[327] See Lelli 2005, 33-46

[328] We do not know what the title of Callimachus' poem was in antiquity. Pfeiffer named it after the opening of the summary of the *diegesis*. I follow this suggestion and use the title *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* in lieu of the *Apotheosis of Arsinoe* or the *Deification of Arsinoe*. For the possible caveats concerning the title, see Acosta-Hughes 2003, 479-480.

[329] See Di Benedetto 1994, 273-278.

in which Hecate and Helios reveal the fate of Persephone to Demeter. These two hypertexts provide extra pathos to Callimachus' lament over the death of Arsinoe II.[330]

My reading of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* is primarily concerned with Philotera, and through her character we may examine the interplay between Greek and Egyptian concepts about death and afterlife in the Ptolemaic kingdom. Whereas the poet portrays Arsinoe II both as the new Helen and as an avatar of Isis, I propose that Callimachus could have depicted Philotera in the role of Nephthys, the Egyptian goddess of lamentation.

The date and the context of the poem

The topic of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* is the death of Queen Arsinoe II, the subsequent funeral and the shock that these events inflicted on Egypt. Its *diegesis* is concise and factual (*Dieg*. X 10):

> φησὶν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνηρπάσ-
> θαι ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων καὶ βωμὸν καὶ τέ-
> μενος αὐτῆς καθιδρῦσθαι πρὸς τῷ Ἐμπορίῳ.

> he [Callimachus] says that she was snatched up by the Dioskouroi and that her altar and sacred precinct were established near the Emporium. (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 124)

This is valuable information because the surviving fragments of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* do not mention the altar, the sacred precinct or portray the particulars of the heavenward journey of Arsinoe II. Based on the fragments of the poem we may summarize its contents as follows. The narrator, Callimachus, first pleads to Apollo for he is not able to sing without the god's assistance. Next the fragments present Arsinoe II traversing the night sky in her wagon. The people of Egypt mourn her death, and the husband of the deceased, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, is performing the funerary rites. A fire-chain extends from Thebes to Pharos, signifying that the whole of Egypt is united in mourning. Philotera, the deified sister of Arsinoe II, has left Sicily where she had met Demeter. When Philotera is crossing the sea near Lemnos in the northern

[330] See also the comment of Caneva (2014, 40): "By combining these archaic hypotexts, Callimachus overlaps human and divine mourning for the death of Arsinoe."

Mediterranean, she notices smoke rising on the horizon. She appeals to Charis, the wife of Hephaestus, to fly to the top of Mt. Athos to resolve the origin of the smoke. Heartbroken Charis informs Philotera that the smoke is coming from Alexandria and that Arsinoe II has died. The fragments of the poem end with an image of cities cloaked in black.

Dating the poem is straightforward; it was written after the death of Arsinoe II. The dramatic images about cities draped in black suggest that Callimachus wrote the *Ektheosis* soon after the passing of the queen. Arsinoe II died in July, but the exact year of her death is not certain. According to the *Mendes Stele* (CG 22181), she died in the 15th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus' rule (270 BC), but the *Pithom Stele* (CG 22183) suggests that she died in 268 BC.[331]

The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* is written in Doric *Kunstsprache*, which underlines the Macedonian roots of Arsinoe II,[332] but the Cyrenean background of Callimachus as well. It seems that the poem was sung, not recited, and that a soloist played the part of Philotera.[333] The metre of the poem is stichic archebulean, an uncommon lyric metre named after the poet Archebulus of Thera.[334] We know almost nothing about Archebulus' life, but his *Suda* entry informs us that Euphorion of Chalcis was his pupil and ἐρώμενος.[335] The entry also suggests that Euphorion was born c. 275 BC. If Euphorion was his boyfriend, Archebulus was probably slightly older and thus perhaps a contemporary of Callimachus. The Theran origin of Archebulus could provide a link between him and Callimachus;[336] Cyrene, Callimachus' birthplace, was colonized by Greeks from Thera.

The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* examines the funerary aspects of the Ptolemaic ruler cult. When Arsinoe II died, she was, according to the *Mendes Stele*, elevated into the world

[331] See Carney 2013, 104-105.

[332] Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 108.

[333] Clayman 2014, 75.

[334] For the *testimonia* of the metre, see, *SH* 124. See also Lloyd-Jones 1974 and Lelli 2005, 152-154. For the metres of the Hellenistic experimental book lyric, see West 1982, 149-152.

[335] Suid. s.v. Εὐφορίων: μαθητὴς ἐν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις Λακύδου καὶ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιητικοῖς Ἀρχεβούλου τοῦ Θηραίου ποιητοῦ, οὗ καὶ ἐρώμενος λέγεται γενέσθαι.

[336] See Lelli 2005, 152-155.

of immortals as a goddess and as a living *Ba*.[337] The stele also informs us that the opening of the mouth ceremony was performed on her during the funeral. Quack thinks that it was unusual to mention this ritual in a stele.[338] Furthermore, Arsinoe II became a σύνναος θεά, meaning that her statue was accordingly to be placed besides the main gods in every temple in Egypt. Arsinoe II, the new goddess, bridged the gap between the Greek and Egyptian cults in Ptolemaic Egypt: "Through the posthumous deification of Arsinoe II, Ptolemy II succeeded in creating a goddess who had emerged from the ruling family and who would be recognized in all of the eastern Mediterranean basin. At the same time, the dynasty began its first and most successful attempt at introducing a deceased member of the family into the Egyptian pantheon."[339] The cult of Arsinoe II was extremely popular in Egypt;[340] Dorothy J. Thompson compares its success to the cult of Akhenaton.[341]

What we know about the funeral of Arsinoe II and her deification suggests that we should examine the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* not only in the light of Hellenistic dynastic cult, but also in the light of indigenous Egyptian beliefs. In the ritual of embalming,[342] there is a spell (7.18):

> Your *ba* endures in the sky,
> your corpse in the netherworld,
> your statues in the temple.
> (Trans. Assmann 2005, 91)

This Egyptian spell crystallizes the events portrayed in Callimachus' *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. The soul of Arsinoe II is speeding through the stars whereas her husband is performing the obsequies on her body. The *diegesis* of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* further informs us that a temple and a sacred precinct were dedicated to Arsinoe II near the Emporium in Alexandria. Statues of Arsinoe II were certainly placed in this temple. According to Pliny (*NH*. 36.68), Timochares, the architect of the temple, attempted to

[337] Hölbl 2001, 101. For the concept of Ba, see Žakbar 1975.
[338] Quack 2008, 277.
[339] Hölbl 2001, 104.
[340] See Huss 1994, 98 n. 115.
[341] Thompson 2012, 122.
[342] Sauneron 1952.

engineer an iron statue of the queen hovering in the temple by means of magnetism. However, he died before the plan was implemented. We know that a strikingly tall obelisk was erected in front of the temple by Ptolemy II Philadelphus. If we are to believe Pliny, it was 80 cubits high (35 metres in Roman cubits, 42 metres in Egyptian cubits). This obelisk likely appears in Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice* as well.[343]

Arsinoe's identification with Isis is as well attested as her identification with Helen. As an example, a stele found at Memphis portrays her as "Arsinoe, the goddess Philadelphos, Isis, Mother of Apis".[344] The *diegesis* of the poem informs us that Arsinoe was snatched up to heaven by the Dioscuri in a manner similar to that by which Castor and Pollux rescued their sister Helen.[345] It is also possible that Helen was associated with Isis in this context.[346] In addition, the occasion of Arsinoe's death coincided with the end of the Egyptian year, marked by the appearance of Sothis (Sirius), the sacred star of Isis.[347] In this context, it is easy to imagine the powerful effect that the rising of Isis's star could have caused among Egyptians after the death of Arsinoe II. Finally, we must acknowledge that portraying the journey of the deceased to the sky was a vibrant topos in Egyptian literature. *Pyr*. § 458-460, for instance, portrays the king's ascension to the heaven as follows:

> The sky is clear, Sothis lives, because I am a living one, the son of Sothis, and the Two Enneads have cleansed themselves for me in Ursa Major, the imperishable. My house in the sky will not perish, my throne on earth will not be destroyed, for men hide, the gods fly away. Sothis has caused me to fly up to the sky into the company of my brethren the gods, Nut the great has uncovered her arms for me, the Two Souls who are at the head of the Souls of On, who attend on Re, have bowed themselves, even they who spend the night making this mourning for the god.

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[343] For this poem celebrating Berenice II, see Chapter 5.2.

[344] BM stele 379, see Quaegebeur 1971, 247 and Reymond 1981, 60-70.

[345] In verse 6, Callimachus writes that Arsinoe's soul has been stolen (κλεπτομέν]α). This compares with Helen vanishing from the hands of Orestes and Pylades in Euripides' *Orestes* 1494-1497.

[346] See Chapouthier 1935, 251-252.

[347] Plantzos 1993, 121. See also Vanderlip 1972, 26.

This is an excerpt of Utterance 302 (*Pyr*. § 458-463), which describes a process in which a king becomes a star. It corresponds to the occasion of Callimachus' poem as the phrase "Sothis lives" means that Sothis is visible. In addition, the reference to the Two Souls probably denotes Isis and Nephthys.[348] We will see in this chapter that these two goddesses are of particular importance in the analysis of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*.

The sorrow of Egypt

Let us begin the analysis of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. The narrator is Callimachus, ἐγώ, who begins the poem with an appeal from Apollo (1-4):

ιἀγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχια τῶνδ' ἀείδειν
π]ροποδεῖν Ἀπόλλων
]κε̣ν δυναίμαν
κατ]ὰ χεῖρα βᾶσαι.

> Let the god lead the Muses … apart from whom … I have no song … [let them tread] in Apollo's footsteps … … could I … dance at his direction (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 124)

Callimachus' request for help from Apollo finds a comparison in his pleas for inspiration in the epilogue to the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Aetia* prologue. Because the opening of the *Ektheosis* is lacunous, we do not know whether Callimachus pleaded to other divinities as well. Lelli thinks that the poem referred to some female deity in the beginning.[349] The opening could correspond to certain Egyptian customs as well because Egyptian funerary ceremonies consisted of song and dance.[350] For instance, Middle Kingdom tomb inscriptions often portray the image of blind harpists.[351] This is, of course, a hypothetical observation.

Then Callimachus portrays the heavenward journey of the soul of the dead queen as follows (5-6):

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[348] Faulkner 1969, 92.
[349] Lelli 2005, 155.
[350] Troy 1986, 92.
[351] See Altenmüller 1978.

ι̣νύμφα, σὺ μὲν ἀστερίαν ὑι̣π̣᾽ ἄμαξαν ἤδη
κλεπτομέν]α παρέθει σελάνᾳ

O bride, already on its way, under the starry Wain … past the moon your stolen soul was speeding … (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 125)

The fragments of the poem give no additional details about the queen's ascension, but, as we have noted, the *diegesis* informs us that the Dioscuri snatched Arsinoe II. In Greek myths, mortals and immortals were sometimes snatched up to the heavens by the gods. Ganymede, for instance, was abducted to the heavens by Zeus. However, as mentioned earlier, Egyptian literature abounds in portrayals of the deceased's ascension to the sky. Assmann argues that the Egyptian texts employ vertical terminology when depicting the ascension of a royal person whereas horizontal terminology was used when private individuals were concerned: "Menschen 'gehen dahin', Könige 'fliegen empor'".[352] In this respect, the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* conforms to the Egyptian practice of portraying the ascension of a royal person.

Callimachus then describes the effect that the death of Arsinoe II caused in the land of the living. Verses 7-10 are very fragmentary, but we can still gather parts of the voices of individual mourners. For instance, verse 9 reads "our queen gone away" (ἀμετέρα] βα̣σίλεια φρούδα). From the mourners, Callimachus identifies one person, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the husband of the deceased (12-15 Pf.):

]̣ μ̣έγας γαμέτας ὁμεύνῳ
]αν πρόθεσιν πύρ᾽ αἴθειν
] λεπτὸν ὕδωρ
Θέτ]ι̣δος τὰ πέραια βωμῶν
].[..]ωδε Θήβα.

… and the great husband, for his wife … fires to blaze, an offering … the delicate water … facing the altars of Thetis … Thebes (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 125)

It is probable that this passage contained a description of rituals connected with the funeral rites of Arsinoe II. However, the state of preservation of the excerpt hinders us

[352] Assmann 1977, 1206.

from making reasonable conclusions about its contents. Lelli thinks that portraying Ptolemy II Philadelphus as a μέγας γαμέτας is somewhat unusual: "Μέγας infatti, pur ricordando le titulature ufficiali persiane (dove μέγας βασιλεύς è il titolo del sovrano), sembra piuttosto sfumare verso una connotazione 'fisica' ad una prima lettura, sottilmente quasi favolistica."[353] Callimachus' choice of word for representing Arsinoe II is also unusual because the rare word ὄμευνος means "a bed-partner" (LSJ s.v.). In Maiistas' Delian hymn to Sarapis, this word denotes Isis, the consort of Sarapis.

According to Callimachus' passage, water was used in the ritual. Both Greek and Egyptian funerary customs acknowledge its importance. In Euripides' *Hecuba* 609-612, for instance, Hecuba advises a servant to fetch water in order to wash the body of her dead daughter, Polyxena. Also, according to an Egyptian belief, the Nile water possessed life-giving qualities.[354] Assmann links the importance of water in Egyptian funerary customs with the inundation of the Nile:

> It was believed that with its annual rise, the Nile was rejuvenating itself, even as it also rejuvenated the fields. The Nile inundation was the central symbol of cyclical time, which did not flow irreversibly toward a goal but rather ran back into itself in a cycle, thus enabling renewal, repetition, and regeneration. For this reason, water was the most important of the libation offerings. In water lay the power of return.[355]

The image of a fire chain, reaching from the altars of Thetis all the way to the city of Thebes,[356] demonstrates that the whole of Egypt mourns the deceased queen. The scholiast of verse 15 explains that Θέτ]ι̣δος βωμῶν refers to an island on which there are altars of Thetis (τῆς νήσ(ου) ἐν ᾗ Θέτιδ(ος) [βωμοί]). The island is probably Pharos, but we have little evidence of its altars. The reference to Thetis, a form-changing sea nymph, offers another allusion to the *Iliad* because she was the mother of Achilles. Her marriage with Peleus was also an important event prior to the Trojan

[353] Lelli 2005, 168.

[354] Wild 1981, 97.

[355] Assmann 2005, 359.

[356] However, the chain of fire does not go through all Egypt because the realm of the Lagid kingdom stretched all the way to Nubia.

War.[357] Thebes was the old capital of Egypt, but it had lost some of its political and cultural prestige during the Lagid rule.[358] The Ptolemaic regime retained Thebaid as an administrative district of southern Upper Egypt, but in the late 3rd century BC, Egyptian nationalists displaced the Ptolemaic rule in Upper Egypt.[359] As an old capital of Egypt, its importance in the preservation of the Egyptian customs was crucial.[360] In mentioning Thebes, the bastion of Upper Egyptian resistance, Callimachus underlines the notion that both Greeks and Egyptians are united in mourning over the death of Arsinoe II.

Verses 17-32 of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* are illegible, but when the texts is again readable, we learn that the dirges are so loud that Proteus hears them from Pharos (verse 39): Πρωτῆϊ μὲν ὧδ' ἐτύμοι κατάγο[ντο φᾶμαι. Callimachus refers here again to the *Iliad* as Proteus was the leader of the choir of Nereids in lamenting the death of Patroclus. After this, the narrator of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* changes. The next section is narrated by Philotera, the sister of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

The sorrow of Philotera

Philotera dominates the best preserved part of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* (verses 40-75). Her status as the principal mourner echoes both Greek and Egyptian customs. In Egypt and Greece the dirges were usually performed by female relatives of the deceased. The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* is the only extant Callimachean poem that unquestionably refers to Philotera. However, Stephens suggests that the *Hymn to Demeter* could refer to Philotera.[361] Mineur, in addition, thinks that the note to Artemis in verse 229 of

[357] During the wedding between Thetis and Peleus, Eris threw the apple of discord in the midst of the gods – an event that lead to the Judgement of Paris.

[358] Lelli 2005, 170.

[359] Quack 2009, 404.

[360] Thebes is mentioned several times in the Homeric epics. It is an emblem of the prosperity of Egypt in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*. For instance, when Achilles refuses to join the Achaean forces, he tells Phoenix that even the riches of Thebes would not turn his head: (*Il*. 9.381-384): οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας / Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται, / αἵ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστας / ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

[361] Stephens 2015, 21-22. For my discussion on the *Hymn to Demeter* and its possible addressee, see Chapter 4.1.

Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* could point to Philotera.[362]

We do not know much about Philotera beyond that she was the youngest child of Ptolemy I Soter and Eurydice and that she had died before Arsinoe II.[363] If Philotera died in about 272 BC, as Fraser suggests,[364] she was then probably in her early thirties. We have evidence that she was alive in 279-278 BC. I.Didyma 115, an inscription describing the dedication of her statue to the Pythian Artemis at Didyma, can be dated to that time.[365] She was apparently unmarried. Charlotte Wikander proposes that Philotera was a young girl when her father, Ptolemy I Soter, died and the possible marriage arrangements were subsequently left to Philadelphus: "Her very existence as an unmarried sister to the reigning Ptolemy would naturally associate her completely to her father's family, and after his death to her brother's. If, as seems very likely, Philadelphos had the conscious creation of a firm dynastic image very much at heart, she would fit perfectly for deification, following her mother and father. As unmarried, she was a visible symbol of the strong family ties of the royal house."[366] Sabine Müller thinks that the reason for Philotera's unmarried life was that the Lagid court did not want to have any rival lines,[367] but Elizabeth Carney suggests that this might have been because of her untimely death or disability.[368]

Callimachus' *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* legitimizes the status of Philotera as a new goddess,[369] and it seems that her cult was an important episode in the development of the cult of Arsinoe II.[370] We know that Philotera received both Greek and Egyptian cults. For instance, an Egyptian funerary stele of a Memphitean High Priest (c. 250 BC) records that one of the titles of the High Priest was "prophet of the goddess, King's daughter, King's sister Philotera".[371] It seems that Callimachus' portrayal of Philotera

[362] Mineur 1983, 198-199.
[363] For her life, see Pfeiffer 1922, 14-37; Regner 1941, 1285-1294.
[364] Fraser 1972, 229. Gelzer (1982, 21) agrees with the year.
[365] Kotsidu 2000, 385-386.
[366] Wikander 2002, 189.
[367] Müller 2009, 105.
[368] Carney 2013, 98.
[369] See Hunter 2011, 250.
[370] Carney 2013, 98.
[371] BM stele 379, 5-6, see Reymond 1981, 60-70.

was also influenced by both Greek and Egyptian beliefs. When Philotera first appears, she is flying over the Thracian Sea 40-45:

> σαμάντριαν ἃ δὲ πυρᾶς ἐνόησ' ἰ[ωάν,
> ἄν οὖλα κυλινδομέναν ἐδίωκ[ον αὖραι
> <. . . . . .>
> ἠδ' ἄμ μέσα Θρηϊκίου κατὰ νῶτα [πόντου
> Φιλωτέρα· ἄρτι γάρ οἱ Σικελὰ μὲν Ἔννια
> κατελείπετο, Λαμνιακοὶ δ' ἐπατεῦ[ντο βουνοί
> Δηοῦς ἄπο νεισομένᾳ·

> And she, Philotera, saw the smoke riding the wind in curling billows or mid-way over the Thracian sea, and thought of a pyre, just as she left Sicilian Enna and the hills of Lemnos on her way from Deo. (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 125-126)

The geographical span between Enna, a Sicilian city, and Lemnos, an island located in the northern Aegean Sea, is vast. Despite Philotera hovering over the northern Mediterranean, she had just left Demeter in Enna, a city renowned for its cult of the goddess. This passage refers to a hypertext of Callimachus' poem, namely the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The hymn, one of the most famous Homeric hymns during the Hellenistic period, is concerned with the myth of Demeter and Persephone. According to Hunter, Philotera plays the role of Demeter and Arsinoe of Persephone in Callimachus' poem.[372] However, the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* is too fragmented to know whether Callimachus actually associated Philotera with Demeter. Pfeiffer, for instance, hypothesizes whether or not Callimachus portrayed Philotera as a servant of Demeter or as a friend of Persephone.[373] It is of course possible that the link between Philotera and Demeter was unofficial because we do not know that she had any Greek cult name that would have connected her with Demeter.[374] In addition, remembering that the aforementioned I.Didyma 115 gives evidence about the association between Philotera and Artemis, it should be noted that in the *Ektheosis* Philotera was travelling to Lemnos, an island that housed a prominent cult of Artemis. In antiquity, however, the island was

[372] Hunter 2003, 50.
[373] Pfeiffer 1922, 36.
[374] Regner 1941, 1290.

known as the home of Hephaestus.

After introducing Philotera, Callimachus carries the storyline towards her apprehension about the death of her sister. The stream of smoke over the sea worries Philotera, and she therefore asks Charis, the spouse of Hephaestus, to climb to the top of Mt. Athos in order to solve the origin of the smoke (45-57):

σέο δ' ἦν ἄπ̣[υστος
ὦ δαίμοσιν ἁρπαγίμα, φάτο δ' ημιδ[
̣ἔζευ Χάρι τὰν ὑπά[τ]αν ἐπ' Ἄθω κολώ[ναν,
ἀπὸ δ' αὔγασαι, ἐκ πεδίου τὰ πύρ' αἰ σαπ[
τ]ίς ἀπώλετο, τίς πολίων ὁλόκαυτος α[ἴθει.
ἔνι μοι φόβος· ἀλλὰ ποτεῦ· νότος αὐ[
νότος αἴθριος· ἦρά τι μοι Λιβύα κα[κοῦται ;̣
τάδ' ἔφα·θεὸς ἀλλ' ὁπότε σκοπιὰν ἐπ[έπτα
χιονώδεα, τὰν ἀπέχειν ἐλάχιστ[ον ἄρκτου
ἥκει λόγος, ἐς δὲ Φάρου περίσαμο[ν ἀκτάν
ἐσκέψατο, θυμολιπὴς ἐβόα[σε
'ναὶ ναὶ μέγα δή τ̣[ι κακὸν
ἁ λίγνυς ἀφ' ὑμετ[έρας πόλιος φορεῖται.'

> She knew nothing, as yet, of you, swept from our midst by the gods: [it was her ignorance] speaking, thus … 'Sit, Charis, on the highest peak of Athos. Scan the distance, see if it's fires on the plain, or … Who has died? What city burst into flames? How afraid I am! But fly! on the south wind, the south wind … now clearing the sky. Is it my Libya come to harm?' So spoke the goddess but Charis, alighting on the snowy lookout point they say comes closest to the polestar, glanced towards the beacon of Pharos and her heart sank as she cried … 'Yes, yes, a great evil … The smoke is coming from your city.' (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 126)

This passage describes the process of Philotera learning about the death of her sister. In the *Iliad*, Charis is also the bringer of bad news for she informs Thetis about the future death of her son Achilles. The south wind, νότος, was associated with the rising of Sirius, the star of Isis, and in *Pyr*. § 1970, the south wind is a wet nurse of a king ascending to heaven. Charis informs Philotera that the smoke is rising from her city,

from Alexandria. The origin of the smoke is still a mystery until Charis describes what she saw (66-75):

οὐκ ᾔδεε· τᾷ δὲ Χάρ[ις βαρὺν εἶπε μῦθον·
‘μή μοι χθονός—οὐχὶ [τεὰ Φάρος ἀθάλωται—
περικλαίεο·μηδέ τ̣ι̣[
ἄλλα μέ τις οὐκ ἀγαθ̣[ὰ φάτις οὔαθ’ ἵκει.
θρῆνοι πόλιν ὑμετέρ[αν
οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ δαμοτ[έρων
χθών· ἀλλά τι τῶ[ν] μεγάλων ἐ̣[,
τάν τοι μίαν οἰχομ̣[ένα]ν ὁμό̣δ̣ελφ̣υν [αὐτάν
κλαίοντι· τὰ δ’ ᾗ̣[κεν ἴ]δῃς, μέλαν [ἀμφίεσται
χθονὸς ἄστεα· ν̣[ωϊτ]έρων τὸ κρατ̣[

‘Weep not, I beg you, for the land: the Pharos you love is not ablaze, nor… but I did hear what I wish I hadn’t: dirges in your city… not as if for commoners… the earth, but something great… They cry for your sister, born of the same womb with you: it is she who has died, and the cities of Egypt, wherever you look, are cloaked in black…’ (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 127)

According to Charis, the smoke and the laments signal that Arsinoe II has died. This is all we have of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. We do not therefore know how Callimachus continued the narrative and, for instance, how he embedded the foundation of the *Arsinoeion* into the poem. A few notes on the smoke: The standard Homeric funeral practice was cremation,[375] and one thus wonders whether the smoke emerges from the pyre of Arsinoe II. This, however, cannot be the case. Because the Ptolemaic rule relied on the close liaison between the Greeks and Egyptians, cremation of a queen would have been highly unlikely in this context regardless of the Macedonian origins of the Ptolemies. The ancient Egyptians “did not see in the individual a composite made up of a corruptible body and an immortal soul. For them, any hoped-for survival after death had to involve the whole entity.”[376] Thanks to this idea, the Egyptians created the art of embalming to preserve the original form of the deceased. According to the

[375] See Mylonas 1962.
[376] Smith 2009, 3.

Mendes Stele, Arsinoe II received an Egyptian burial, and we have no reason to question this information. A possible explanation for the smoke might be that it comes from the Alexandrian end of the fire chain that extends through Egypt. Callimachus therefore creates an allusion to the funeral pyres of the *Iliad* without actually arguing that the body of Arsinoe II was cremated. In addition, the image of the cities draped in black may provide a Graeco-Egyptian dimension as well. In Egypt, the colour black was the colour of the Underworld, that of Osiris, but it symbolized resurrection as well.[377] However, the performers of the Egyptian funerary rituals were usually dressed in white, the colour of ritual purity.

Philotera-Nephthys and the poetics of consolation

Callimachus evidently juxtaposed the death of Arsinoe II with the myth of Demeter and Persephone. In addition to this Greek context, we should also look into the Egyptian beliefs about death and afterlife when analysing the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*. Müller thinks that Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Arsinoe II and Philotera constituted a triad, albeit not a traditional one, in which Philadelphus was Horus, Arsinoe II Isis and Philotera Nephthys: "Die Assoziation der *thea Philadelphos* mit Isis im ägyptischen Kult legt eine Angleichung von Philotera an Nephthys in der einheimischen Sprachregelung nah, die die Bildung einer göttlichen Triade erlaubte."[378] It is possible that the three siblings were revered together in cult, and I think we should continue this line of thought in the analysis of the *Ektheosis*. We have noticed that Philadelphus, Arsinoe II and Philotera are the only Ptolemies mentioned in the extant verses of the poem. Callimachus portrays Arsinoe II ascending to the sky in a manner similar to Isis whereas Philadelphus is performing the funeral rites. His composed appearance mirrors Greek customs of portraying a mourning king, but it also finds a possible analogy in Egyptian mythology. As Assmann observes: "Horus does not mourn: his words describe the restoration of honor, the punishment of the enemy, the elevation and enthronement of Osiris, but never longing, love or grief."[379] I would like to argue next

[377] See Manniche 1979.

[378] Müller 2009, 298.

[379] Assmann 2005, 115.

that Callimachus portrays Philotera in the role of Nephthys, the Egyptian goddess of lamentation.

Nephthys, a member of the Heliopolitan Ennead, was pictorially depicted as a woman with spread wings or as a hawk. She was the goddess of lamentation, protector of Osiris and an equal supporter of Isis during the funerary rites (*Pyr*. § 1280): "Thus said Isis and Nephthys: The 'screecher' comes, the kite comes, namely Isis and Nephthys; they have come seeking their brother, Osiris, seeking their brother the King." The screecher refers to the similarities between the cries of the birds and the cries of the mourners.

My argument that the poet portrays Philotera as Nephthys is hypothetical because the poem survives in a very fragmentary state of preservation. However, there are certain hints that Callimachus could have construed a link between Nephthys and Philotera, the new Ptolemaic goddess. In fr. 228.72 Pf., the poet emphasizes the kinship between Arsinoe II and Philotera with "born from the same womb" (ὁμόδελφυς), a Callimachean novelty. Isis and Nephthys were twins according to Egyptian myth. However, ὁμόδελφυς does not mean that Arsinoe II and Philotera were twins, but that they had the same mother. The image of Philotera moving swiftly over the Mediterranean Sea suggests that she is flying, mirroring the deportment of Nephthys. In addition, Nephthys, like Philotera, did not have any children.[380]

Müller thinks it is possible that Philotera was, at least at some level, identified with Nephthys in the Ptolemaic dynastic cults,[381] but we have little evidence of it. When Arsinoe II was elevated into a σύνναος θεά, the existing cult of Philotera was merged with the cult of Arsinoe II, but later on a separate cult of Philotera was founded.[382] Heresankh was a priestess of the cult of Philotera, but she was also a priestess of Isis and Nephthys.[383] However, regardless of the dearth of evidence on the association of Philotera with Nephthys, it is important to stress that the cult of this Egyptian goddess was well known in the Ptolemaic kingdom. For instance, we know that twins played

[380] However, some late testimonies state that Nephthys was the mother of Anubis.
[381] Müller 2009, 104-105.
[382] Thompson 2012, 119-122.
[383] Gorre 2009, 222-223 and 285-296.

the parts of Isis and Nephthys in the funerals of Apis that were sponsored by Ptolemy I Soter.[384]

According to Lyceas of Naucratis (*FGrHist*. 613 F), Arsinoe II and Philotera were revered together in Ptolemaic Egypt. If Lyceas' observation is correct, one may suspect that the Egyptians would have considered this worship to mirror the worship of Isis and Nephthys. Moreover, the Ptolemaic era witnessed a growth of interest in the laments of Isis and Nephthys,[385] and Callimachus' poem about the death of Arsinoe II could have been influenced by that genre. It is, however, difficult to find parallels to Callimachus' poem in the Egyptian literature, but it is logical yet hypothetical to assume that the lament of Philotera after she learned about the death of Arsinoe II could have corresponded to Egyptian laments. Moreover, I wonder if the poet gave a voice to the deceased queen in his poem as well. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, for instance, Persephone speaks after she had ascended from the Underworld. If Arsinoe II spoke in the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, one assumes that it would have substantiated the claim that Callimachus portrays the queen as Isis and Philotera as Nephthys. All in all, in the Egyptian *Totenklage*, Isis and Nephthys often act as abstract mourners, meaning that they are allowed to express their grief openly.[386] One of the key functions of Nephthys was to bring consolation to the mourners after a death. Callimachus' *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* could mirror this idea. Philotera-Nephthys helps Egypt recover from the death of Queen Arsinoe II.

[384] Crawford 1980, 9.

[385] See Kucharek's comment (2010, 21): "Die Klagelieder der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit bilden einerseits Schluß - und Höhepunkt einer literarischen Gattung, deren älteste Spuren aus dem Alten Reich stammen."

[386] See Enmarch 2013, 93-95.

5 The Divine Couple: Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II

The completion of the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* marked the beginning of a long hiatus in praising the Ptolemaic queens in the poetry of Callimachus. Because Ptolemy II Philadelphus did not remarry after the death of Arsinoe II, there was no legitimate queen at the court. The wedding of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II, a Cyrenean princess, in 246 BC enabled the poet to return to writing encomia for royal women. The symbolic value in their wedding lies in the rediscovery of the relationship between Ptolemaic Egypt and Cyrene. It seems that writing about Berenice II was very pleasing to Callimachus. The warmth that the poet imparted to the poems about Berenice II transcends the (official) impetus to praise the queen of Egypt.

We possess no single Callimachean poem that unquestionably makes Ptolemy III Euergetes the main laudandus. In the *Aetia*, as Barbantani observes,[387] Euergetes is portrayed only as part of the royal couple. In the *Lock of Berenice*, he is both the dear brother of Berenice II and a victorious king. It is possible that Euergetes' presence was also felt in the *Victory of Berenice*, but this is conjectural because the poem survives in fragments. *Daphnephoria Delphica* (Harder 86) and the epilogue of the *Aetia* (Harder 112) could moreover refer to the new royal couple.[388] The *Hymn to Apollo* is often said to have been written in honour of Euergetes. I will next examine it briefly as it seems probable that the hymn is influenced by Egyptian beliefs as well.

The *Hymn to Apollo* portrays a Cyrenean festival of the cult of Apollo Κάρνειος and centres on the expectation of the epiphany of the god. The summation of its contents is as follows. It begins with a sense of anticipation; the reader of the poem is transported in the middle of a religious event celebrating Apollo. The laurel of the god shakes as does his temple. The narrator advises a chorus of young men to prepare themselves to sing and dance in honour of the god. Then the hymn describes Apollo and catalogues his cult sites and his different functions as the god of arts, of prophecy

[387] Barbantani 2011, 180.

[388] See Harder 2012b, 715, 865-866.

and of medicine. After that, the poet portrays the god as a primeval architect. Apollo's first contruction was the Delian Altar of Horns, which was built out of the horns of the goats hunted by his sister Artemis. Next Callimachus narrates not only the colonization of Cyrene, but Apollo's marriage with the nymph Cyrene as well. Before the epilogue, the poem clarifies that the call ἰὴ παιῆον originates in Apollo's fight against Python. The poem ends with an enigmatic passage in which Apollo manifests himself.

Dating the *Hymn to Apollo* is difficult. The ending of the hymn shares a similar tone with the *Aetia* prologue in which Apollo also declaims on the proper literary style. If these poems are concurrent, the *Hymn to Apollo* would have been written in the mid-240s.[389] However, this argumentation is not entirely solid.[390] In verses 26-27, the poet refers to an unnamed βασιλεύς, the reigning king of Cyrene who is closely identified with Apollo:

> ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆι μάχοιτο·
> ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῆι, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο.
>
> Whoever quarrels with the Blessed Ones, let him quarrel with my king. Whoever quarrels with my king let him quarrel with Apollo.

We have three candidates for "my king": Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Magas of Cyrene and Ptolemy III Euergetes. A scholiast's note on verse 26 (τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Εὐεργέτῃ· διὰ δὲ τὸ φιλόλογον αὐτὸν εἶναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾷ) suggests that the king is Euergetes. If the scholiast's proposition is accurate,[391] the *terminus post quem* is Euergetes' accession to the throne in 246 BC. This would coincide with his marriage to Berenice II, an event that marked an armistice between Egypt and Cyrene. However, not all scholars agree with this. Wilamowitz, for instance, thinks that the king is Philadelphus because φιλόλογος would suit him better than Euergetes.[392] Cameron

[389] For the date of the *Aetia* prologue, see Harder 2012a, 2-4.

[390] See Stephens 2015, 19.

[391] See Pfeiffer's comment (Pf. xxxviii-xxxix): "Regem autem in hymno II laudatum Ptolemaeum III esse Scholia (II 26) affirmant neque est cur id negemus; non male illae laudes in coniugem Berenices quadrant."

[392] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924 II, 80. See also Fraser 1972, 653.

argues that Callimachus refers to Magas of Cyrene, an actual priest of Apollo, and that the *Hymn to Apollo* could therefore date to the 270s BC.[393]

Because there is no evident reference to Berenice II, one perhaps assumes that the unnamed king is Ptolemy II Philadelphus or Magas. However, the possible absence of Berenice II does not mean that the *laudandus* of the *Hymn to Apollo* could not be Euergetes. Even though Callimachus often portray the royal couple together, it was certainly not necessary to depict them both in every poem written in the 240s BC. Many Callimachean poems that praise Berenice II seem to mention Euergetes only briefly or not at all. If we assume that the unnamed king is Euergetes, Berenice II might appear in the garb of the nymph Cyrene in verses 90-92 which read as follows: "These did the god himself see, and he showed his bride, standing upon horned Myrtussa, where the daughter of Hypseus killed the lion that was plunderer of Eurypylus' cattle" (τοὺς μὲν ἄναξ ἴδεν αὐτός, ἑῇ δ' ἐπεδείξατο νύμφῃ / στὰς ἐπὶ Μυρτούσσης κερατώδεος, ἦχι λέοντα / Ὑψῆος κατέπεφνε βοῶν σίνιν Εὐρυπύλοιο). The Myrtussa is probably the acropolis upon which Apollo and Cyrene were standing.[394]

This passage does not immediately strike one as a reference to the union of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II. Williams, for instance, strongly denies any possible allusions to the royal couple.[395] However, the hypertext of Callimachus' passage, Pindar's *Pythian* 9, notably underlines the affection between Apollo and Cyrene.[396] In this Pindaric poem, Cyrene was a daughter of Hypseus, the king of the Thessalian Lapiths. She was a zealous hunter, and when a lion charged at her father's sheep, she fought against the lion. Apollo saw this battle between the unarmed Cyrene and the lion. The god was awestruck by her bravery and fell instantly in love with the girl. After this incident, Apollo abducted Cyrene to North Africa and gave the city of Cyrene her name.[397] The connotations of Pindar's warm-hearted description of the relationship

[393] Cameron 1995, 407-409.

[394] Stephens 2015, 96.

[395] Williams 1978, 79.

[396] In his discussion on this Pindaric poem and *Olympian* 6, Bowra states (1964, 66) that "Pindar accepts the tales of gods in love but sees in them evidence of the strength and beauty of the gods and of the loyalty and affection which they give to those whom they love."

[397] See Calame 2011, 156-182.

between Apollo and Cyrene could therefore mean that Callimachus juxtaposes their mythical relationship to that of Euergetes and Berenice II.

The *Hymn to Apollo* contains themes that could point to Egyptian influence, as pointed out, for example, by Daniel Selden.[398] In the aforementioned verses 26-27, Callimachus' king is associated with Apollo. This close relationship is strengthened on the basis of the ambiguity of the particle καί which "without an interrogative, and not opening a question, sometimes means 'actually', and conveys surprise or indignation".[399] It is possible that Callimachus suggests that the unnamed king and Apollo compose a single being. As noted in the analysis of the hymns to Zeus and Delos, Apollo was often identified with Horus in Ptolemaic Egypt. This connection appears to be important in the analysis of the *Hymn to Apollo* as well. In verses 55-64, Callimachus refers to Apollo as an architect. This is a Greek image, ἀρχαγέτας and κτίστης are famous (Cyrenean) epithets of Apollo,[400] but the notion of a god as a primeval architect and city-planner suggests Egyptian influence since Horus was also seen as a city-planner: "[W]eaving together raw materials, Horus establishes on barren ground an altar, a temple and a city, and these foundations constitute the first civilizing acts definitive of the Egyptian politico-religious order, which all Pharaonic incarnations of the god ceaselessly repeat."[401] Selden moreover thinks that there are certain similarities between the cosmogony texts of the Edfu temple and Callimachus' hymn.[402] According to the building text of the naos, the temple of Edfu was called the *Throne-of-Gods of the Gods of the First Occasion* and the *Foundation-ground of the Gods of the Beginning*. These names refer to the Egyptian notion about life emerging on a mound that rises from a watery void.[403] The cosmogonical texts of the Edfu Temple not only stress the role of Horus as a god who brings culture to a barren

[398] Selden 1998, 384-405.
[399] Denniston 1954, 316 with examples.
[400] See Lehnus 1994, 200-201.
[401] Selden 1998, 400.
[402] Selden 1998, 392-405.
[403] Finnestadt 1983, 28.

landscape, but also accentuate that it was built by a divine builder who received orders directly from Horus.[404]

It should, however, be acknowledged that the link between Apollo and Horus was not as strong in Cyrene as it was in Alexandria. In verses 65-68 of the *Hymn to Apollo*, the poet relates that Apollo, in the form of a raven, guided the Therans to Cyrene. It thus seems possible that the construction of the Delian Altar of Horns in Callimachus' poem could point to the Cyrenean tradition of revering Apollo as a κόραξ. In addition, the construction of the Altar of Horns compares in some Greek texts with the nest building of the halcyon.[405] This Cyrenean context does not of course mean that an Alexandrian audience of the hymn of Callimachus would not have associated its Apollo with Horus, but, all in all, it appears that the *Hymn to Apollo* might not be as Egyptianizing a poem as, for instance, the *Hymn to Delos*.

The *Hymn to Apollo* ends with a passage in which the god finally makes his epiphany (105-113):

> ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν·
> 'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει.'
> τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' ἔειπεν·
> 'Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά
> λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει.
> Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
> ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
> πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.'
> χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

Envy spoke secretly into Phoebus' ear: "I do not admire the singer who does not sing even as much as the sea." Phoebus pushed Envy off with his foot and spoke the following: "The flow of the Assyrian river is vast, but it draws along much refuse from the land and much garbage on its waters. Not from any sources do bees carry water to

[404] Finnestadt 1983, 41.

[405] See Stephens 2015, 92-93.

> Demeter, but from what comes up pure and undefiled from a holy fountain, a small drop, the choicest of waters." Hail, Lord. But Blame, let him go where Envy is.

This passage, one of the most studied in the extant poetry of Callimachus, confirms that the god was present during the ceremony. It seems that the excerpt is chiefly concerned with Callimachean poetic principles. Long, epicizing poetry is rejected in favour of short, refined poetry. This is evident in the image in which the sea and the Assyrian river are contrasted with the spring from which the bees collect water. Φθόνος, personified Envy, plays here a similar role to the Telchines of the *Aetia* prologue. The scholiast of verse 108 notes that the filth-carrying river is the Euphrates, one of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia.[406] This area is associated with Persia, the perennial archenemy of Greece, but also with Asiatics, often portrayed as enemies of Egypt in inscriptions. During Callimachus' age, however, the Seleucid Empire governed the lands through which the Euphrates flowed. Because the Seleucids strove to make Cyrene a base for their kingdom,[407] Callimachus could have made here an allusion to the fight over the domination of Cyrenaica.

In the passage, Callimachus writes about the bees. The poet contrasts the debris-laden water of the Euphrates with the pure water that bees carry to Demeter. This Aristotelean (*Hist. an.* 596b) image of water-carrying bees is perplexing, but is undoubtedly concerned with the aesthetics of poetry. It finds a comparison from the *Aetia* prologue in which Callimachus wishes to sing amidst those who prefer the voice of a cicada to that of a donkey (Harder 1.29-30).[408] Williams thinks that it is likely that Callimachus refers here to the actual bees and not to the priestesses of Demeter, the μέλισσαι,[409] but this continues to be a matter of debate.[410] One also thinks of Aristaeus, the patron god of bee-keeping, who was sometimes seen as a son of Apollo and Cyrene. However, the bee is a very Egyptian idea because it was an emblem of Lower Egypt.[411]

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[406] The other one is Tigris.

[407] Hölbl 2001, 45-46.

[408] Williams 1978, 93. Dieleman (2005, 132) notes that the donkey was seen as an animal of Seth in Egypt.

[409] Williams 1978, 92.

[410] See especially Petrovic 2011, 275-276.

[411] See Chapter 3.1.

In Chapter 4.1, I cautiously backed Clayman's suggestion that the *Hymn to Demeter* could have been written to praise Berenice II. If we hypothesize that the hymns to Apollo and Demeter were written at approximately the same time, we perceive similarities between them. As mentioned before, one of the arguments against interpreting the *Hymn to Apollo* as a eulogy of Ptolemy III Euergetes is that there seems to be no explicit reference to Berenice II. A possible explanation for her absence could be that she was lauded in the concurrent *Hymn to Demeter*, and thus the reference to Demeter at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* could perhaps point to her. Moreover, if the *Hymn to Demeter* is set in Alexandria,[412] a further symmetry arises. Berenice II, a Cyrenean, showcases her dominance over Alexandria in the *Hymn to Demeter* whereas Ptolemy III Euergetes, an Alexandrian, showcases his dominance over Cyrene in the *Hymn to Apollo*. This suggestion is, of course, very hypothetical for we have little means to determine a secure date for these hymns. However, even if the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Demeter* are not about Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II, they underline one aspect that I will utilize in my analysis of the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*, namely that the king of Egypt is associated with Horus and the queen of Egypt with Isis.

Let us next examine those Callimachean poems that are unquestionably about Berenice II. Epigram 51 Pf. = 15 GP portrays a statue of Berenice II, still smelling of unguents:[413]

> Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες· ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς τρισὶ τήναις
> ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κἤτι μύροισι νοτεῖ.
> εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα,
> ἇς ἄτερ οὐδ' αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες.

The Graces are four: in addition to The Three, one has just been cast and still breathes of perfumes. Blest among all is radiant Berenike, without whom even the Graces lack grace. (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 176)

[412] See Chapter 4.1.

[413] For the practice of anointing statues, see Lilja 1972, 90.

Ivana and Andrej Petrovic propose that this epigram, written in Doric, could refer to the three Parian statues of the Graces to which Callimachus referred in the beginning of the first book of the *Aetia*.[414] Epigram 51 Pf. = 15 GP thus introduces a statue of Berenice to those statues. As Petrovic & Petrovic observe, the presence of the Charites is very notable in the first part of the *Aetia*, and therefore Berenice II could link the two parts of the *Aetia* together: "Berenice is the one who will provide his book with long life and, by mentioning the fact that she is still *wet with perfume*, the poet refers to the life-giving power of the Charites' hands which he mentioned at the beginning of the *Aetia*."[415] The latter part of Callimachus' *Aetia* is framed by two remarkable praises of Berenice II, the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. Because of this, one supposes that other poems of the *Aetia* could refer to her as well. For example, Clayman thinks that the *Acontius and Cydippe* (Harder 67-75e) and the *Phrygius and Pieria* (Harder 80-83b) allude to Berenice II.[416]

I wish to examine one further poem that could be related to Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II. Callimachus' *Victory of Sosibius* (fr. 384 Pf.), a fragmentarily preserved poem, praises the athletic prowess of a certain Sosibius. We cannot date it with certainty because the identity of Sosibius is not clear. It seems probable that he was the advisor and minister of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221 – 204 BC). Another possibility is the man often claimed to have written the (pseudo-)Theophrastean Περὶ βασιλείας dedicated to Cassander (c. 350 – 297 BC).[417] The style of the poem represents the "mature style" of Callimachus, and thus suggests contemporaneity with the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. However, I wonder if the phrase "for none has ever" (οὐ γάρ πώ τις) in verse 30, referring to Sosibius' victory at the Panhellenic Games, suggests that Callimachus' poem predates the *Victory of Berenice* (mid-240s), which celebrates Berenice's victory at the Nemean Games.

Characterized by frequent changes of narrators and places, the poem begins with a request of the first narrator (probably Callimachus) to pour libations in honour of Sosibius for he has won a chariot-race at the Isthmian Games. Next we learn that he

[414] Petrovic & Petrovic 2003, 194-204.
[415] Petrovic & Petrovic 2003, 197.
[416] See Clayman 2014, 89-97.
[417] See Pf. *ad loc*. and Fuhrer 1992, 144-149.

has also been victorious in the Nemean Games and in an Egyptian games (Ptolemaia or Basileia). Later on, the Nile and probably Sosibius himself appear as speakers. One perceives that the *Victory of Sosibius* is not a traditional panegyric. For example, the poem does not contain a myth, in contrast to another, possible concurrent, *encomium* of Callimachus, the *Victory of Berenice*, which encloses a myth that enhances the chariot victory of Berenice II.[418] However, thanks to the allusions to Greek as well as Egyptian literature, it conjures a variegated web of myths. The images of "lactating nurses" and "nurturing landscapes" evoke associations to Pindar's *Pythian* 4,[419] a celebration of the chariot-victory of Arcesilaus IV at the Nemean Games. This Pindaric panegyric contains a long speech of Medea (13-56) in which she prophesies about the foundation of Cyrene and the colonization of northern Africa. In the *Victory of Sosibius*, the importance of Cyrene is highlighted by the images of Asbystian horses and the River Kinyps. These may hint that Berenice II could be the target audience of the *Victory of Sosibius*.

I would like to concentrate on the passage that introduces the Nile as the speaker. The river comments about Sosibius' win as follows (fr. 384.27-34):

θηλύτατον καὶ Νεῖλο̣[ς ἄ]γων ἐνιαύσιον ὕδωρ
ὦδ' εἴπ[η̣] 'καλά μοι θρε̣ῤ̣τ̣ὸς ἔτεισε γέρα
...[...οὐ] γάρ πώ τις ἐπ[ὶ] πτόλιν ἤγαγ' ἄεθλον
].ταφίων τῶνδε πανηγυρίων
κ]α̣ὶ πουλύς, ὃν οὐδ' ὅθεν οι῎ι̣δεν ὁδεύω
θνητὸ̣ις ἀνήρ, ἐνὶ γοῦν τῷ̣δ' ἔα λιτότερος
……]. ους ἀμογητὶ διὰ σφυρὰ λευκὰ γυναικῶν
καὶ πα]ῖς ἀβρέκτῳ γούνατι πεζὸς ἔβη
* . . . . . .

and that the Nile swollen with the year's fertility might have this to say: 'Here's a noble recompense from my nursling! … for none has ever brought home the prize … from these death celebrations … [Sure, I am] great, and no man knows my source, and yet, in

[418] See Chapter 5.2.

[419] Stephens 2002, 256.

> one regard I have been paltrier … than those whom the white ankles of women easily cross, or a child on foot, not wetting his knees'. (Trans. Nisetich 2001, 170)

The image of children crossing the river with dry knees suggests the dry season of the Nile.[420] The dry season occurred during the time of the Isthmian Games. The speech of the Nile, however, takes place after this season. The poet portrays it as θηλύτατος, denoting that the Nile is flooding. Stephens argues that the image of the swollen river alludes to Hapi; she furthermore detects similarities between the *Victory of Sosibius* and the Egyptian *Hymn to Hapi*.[421] This Nile god, pictorially depicted as a false-bearded man with blue skin and pendulous breast, congratulates Sosibius on the win.

Let us turn our attention to the political reforms that accompany the era during which the poem of Callimachus was probably written. If the *Victory of Sosibius* is a late poem, it coincides with the calendar reforms of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Hans Hauben thinks that Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II strove to identify their cult with the Nile flood, marked by the rising of Sothis, the sacred star of Isis.[422] The *Decree of Canopus* (*OGIS* 56), for instance, refers to the assimilation between Sothis and the deceased princess Berenice, the daughter of Euergetes and Berenice II, through her identification with Tefnut-Hathor.[423] I am not suggesting here that the poem of Callimachus refers to the *Decree of Canopus* because it is likely that the decree is a later document (it was written in 238 BC). However, the prominence of the Nile flood during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes gives a new dimension and meaning to the speech of the river. Callimachus' poem could echo the idea that the flood of the Nile and the Ptolemaic rule are linked. In this case, the *Victory of Sosibius* is not only a celebration of Sosibius, but of the Ptolemaic power as well. The sentiment of the passage of Callimachus appears to be clear. Sosibius is the θρεπτός of not only the Nile-Hapi, but also of the divinized ruler of the Ptolemaic state. We have, in fact, evidence that the Pharaoh and Hapi were sometimes linked.[424] It appears that the

[420] This perhaps also reminds us of the image in which children symbolize the sixteen cubits of the Nile. See, for instance, Plin. *NH* 36.58.

[421] Stephens 2002, 256-257.

[422] Hauben 2011, 366-374.

[423] Pfeiffer 2004, 265-266. See also Hölbl 2001, 108-110.

[424] Kurth 1982, 486.

Victory of Sosibius harmonizes with the cosmic aspect of the other two, likely concurrent poems, namely the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*.[425]

I have sketched here a *locus* that could refer to the Egyptian aspect of the Ptolemaic rule during the rule of the Euergetae. My brief discussion on the speech of the Nile in the *Victory of Sosibius* may serve as an introduction to the style our poet employs in his two *encomia* in honour of Berenice II. This cosmological aspect of the *Victory of Sosibius* finds a parallel in the *Victory* and especially in the *Lock*. The status of Sosibius was prestigious, but he did not belong to the Ptolemaic royal family. Therefore the tone of the *Victory of Sosibius* differs from that of the poems that celebrate a Ptolemaic king or a queen in which the *laudandus* is often portrayed as a divine figure.

[425] See Chapters 4.1 and 4.2.

5.1 The Victory of Berenice

The *Victory of Berenice* (*SH* 254-268C = Massimilla 143-156 = Harder 54-60j) is the most important post-Pfeiffer discovery of Callimachus' works. Even though Pfeiffer's edition contains some fragments of this *encomium*,[426] the new papyrus findings enabled Peter Parsons not only to reconstruct the outline of the narrative with more surety than his predecessors, but also to confirm its position at the beginning of the third book of the *Aetia*.[427] Furthermore, the papyrus fragments published as *PSI* 1500 testify that the prologue of the poem was substantially longer than previously thought.[428] The position of the poem at the beginning of the latter part of the *Aetia* speaks in favour of its importance. The *Victory of Berenice*, together with its companion-poem, the *Lock of Berenice*,[429] frame and provide coherence to the latter part of the *chef-d'oeuvre* of Callimachus.

The *Victory of Berenice* is influenced by Pindar's victory odes both linguistically and topically, but the whimsical and tongue-in-cheek tone tags it as un-Pindaric in the end. A major part of the poem's charm and self-aware comedy lies in the disharmonious setting in which the urban poet knowledgeably narrates about the niceties of the lives of the rural people. "A rococo exercise in rustic chic" is consequently an apt description of the characteristics of this eulogy about the hippophile queen.[430] The friendly and

[426] The fragments of the *Victory of Berenice* are scattered among Pfeiffer's *Callimachus* (54-59 176, 177, 333, 383 557, 597, 674, 677). Furthermore, Pfeiffer did not know the addressee of the poem and thus named it 'Elegia in victoriam Nemeaeam', but his comment on fr. 383.2 Pf. proved to be accurate: "Sed moneo *νύμφην* quam alloquitur poeta v. 2, ipsam victricem esse posse (Berenicen? v. adn. ad fr. 388)." The title "*Victoria Berenices*" was suggested by Parsons (1977, 44).

[427] Parsons 1977 reconstructed the poem on the basis of the Lille fragments that were first published in Meillier 1976. Livrea 1979 incorporated the fragments on the mousetrap (fr. 177 Pf.) into the narrative of the *Victory of Berenice*.

[428] Bastianini 2008, 177-182.

[429] The *Victory of Berenice* also bears a myriad of affinities with Callimachus' *Hecale*. In both poems, a poor host entertains a young hero. The *Hecale* is concerned with Theseus' encounter with an old woman named Hecale. The tone between the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Hecale* is, however, different. Whereas the *Victory of Berenice* is convivial, the *Hecale* is one of those rare occasions when Callimachus displays his non-ironic dramatic register. According to Annemarie Ambühl (2004, 28), even geography seems to mimic this: "*Hecale* is set in Attica, the origin of tragedy, whereas the *Victoria Berenices* is set in Argos, the Doric homeland of comedy."

[430] Parsons 1980, 9.

playful tone of the *Victory of Berenice* suggests at least some level of acquaintance between Callimachus and Berenice II.

The *Victory of Berenice* has not survived completely, but the outline of its narrative is rather clear. This elegy, approximately 240 verses in its original form,[431] lauds the chariot victory of Queen Berenice II at the biennial Nemean Games. However, the queen is never explicitly named and she governs only the *prooemium* in which Callimachus narrates how the news about her victory arrived in Egypt.[432] The bulk of the narrative of the *Victory of Berenice* is instead concerned with the adventures of young Heracles. The mythical section contains an account of his hunting expedition to Nemea to defeat the eponymous lion. This part is concerned not with the actual fight against the lion, but with Heracles' encounter with Molorcus, an ill-starred farmer, whose farm is impoverished because of terror of the beast. A substantial part of the meeting examines the mock-heroic battle of Molorcus with the mice that are gnawing his possessions. Finally, the poem might have returned to Berenice II in an epilogue.[433] This is conjectural since we possess nothing of the possible coda of the *Victory of Berenice*.

At first glance, our poem appears to be Greek to the core. Indeed, a poem contemplating the early stages of the heroic career of Heracles and offering, among others, an αἴτιον on the beginnings of the Panhellenic Games hardly suggests any alien influence. Yet, there is an obvious Egyptian colouring in the *Victory of Berenice*. This is evident not only in the proem, scrutinizing the ancient ties between Argos and Egypt with meticulous detail, but also in the mythical section, assessing certain cosmological matters connected with the Graeco-Egyptian Ptolemaic court. The interplay between Egypt and Argos in the prologue has been analysed by several scholars.[434] Aleksandros Kampakoglou has recently published an analysis on the "intercultural praise" in the mythical section of the poem of Callimachus.[435] My aim is to examine both the

[431] Massimilla 2010, 223.

[432] Pindaric epinicion often delays mentioning the *laudandus*; it is possible that Berenice II was named in the lost verses of the poem.

[433] See Harder 2012b, 387.

[434] Stephens 2002, 246-255, Massimilla 2010, 228-233; Harder 2012b, 399-409.

[435] Kampakoglou 2013.

prooemium and the mythical section in one and thus to offer a coherent overall picture of Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice*.

Berenice's swift horses and the Egyptian Argos: the date and the context of the Victory of Berenice

Let us start with the *prooemium* of the *Victory of Berenice* (Harder 54-54a). The poem opens in a grand and bombastic manner, which reminds us of Pindaric epinicians (Harder 54.1-3):

> Ζηνί τε καὶ Νεμέηι τι χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω,
> νύμφα, κα[σιγνή]τ̣ων ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν,
> ἡμ[ε]τ̣ερο.[……].εων ἐπινίκιον ἵππῳ̣[ν.
>
> To Zeus and Nemea I owe a gift of joy and gratitude, young woman, sacred blood of the sibling gods, our victory-song … about your horses.

Queen Berenice II has won the equestrian race at the Nemean games and the celebration of this event will be the central theme of the *Victory of Berenice*. The poet presents a gift to Zeus, the patron of the Nemean Games, and to Nemea, probably the eponymous nymph.[436] The word νύμφα gives us a *terminus post quem*. The poem was written after the wedding of Berenice II and Ptolemy III Euergetes (246 BC). However, the *terminus* is vague because νύμφα does not necessarily imply that the wedding was recent. For instance, the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, a lamentation over the death of Arsinoe II Philadelphus, addresses the late queen as νύμφα (fr. 228.5 Pf.: νύμφα, σὺ μὲν ἀστερίαν ὑ̣π̣ὸ̣ ἄμαξαν ἤδη). Arsinoe II died in her forties in 270 or 268 BC when she had been married to Ptolemy II Philadelphus for years.[437] We cannot therefore safely state that Callimachus composed the *Victory of Berenice* shortly after the nuptial of Euergetes and Berenice II. The Nemean Games shed little light on the dating for they were celebrated biennially, but Callimachus' description of the burial of the Apis bull (Harder 54.16) helps us determine the date of the poem. Apis had died in 247 BC, and one supposes that its funeral must have been a recent event. The extant fragments of

[436] Massimilla 2010, 226.

[437] The wedding between Philadelphus and Arsinoe II took place in 279/4 BC.

the *Victory of Berenice* do not mention the cult title Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται. This detail could provide a *terminus ante quem* because we know that the title was in use in 243/242 BC (official from 238 BC).[438] In brief, we can concur that Callimachus composed the *Victory of Berenice* in the mid-240s BC.

Berenice II did not take part in the actual race. The win was credited in her name because she was the owner of the chariot team. The chariot probably consisted of Libyan horses whose swiftness was well renowned in antiquity.[439] We know a few instances where a woman successfully competed in the equestrian races at the Panhellenic Games. The most famous of them is, of course, Cynisca (born c. 440 BC), a Spartan princess, who won at the Olympian Games.[440] An epigram, probably the first one rhapsodizing about a woman's chariot victory,[441] states that Cynisca was the only woman in Greece to win at the games (*AG* 13.16.3-4: μόναν δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν / Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τόνδε λαβεῖν στέφανον).[442] However, if we are to believe Pausanias (3.17.6), another Spartan woman, Euryleonis, had also won in the Olympian Games. In addition to Cynisca and Euryleonis, a notable female winner was Bilistiche (Paus. 5.8.11), the dearest courtesan of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

It is not a far-fetched proposition that Callimachus could have had the figure of Cynisca in mind when he composed the *Victory of Berenice*. Cyrene, the birthplace of both Callimachus and Berenice II, was colonized by Theran Greeks who were originally from Sparta. A potential reference to a Spartan princess therefore not only accentuates the strength and courage of Berenice II, but also assumes a geographical lineage between Cyrene and Sparta. In this context, one may remember the allusive undertone of Callimachus' description of the lion-vanquishing nymph Cyrene in the *Hymn to Apollo*; some scholars have found traces of the figure of Berenice in the garb of Cyrene.[443] Also noteworthy is that Sparta was one of the main allies of Ptolemaic

[438] See Gelzer 1982, 18 and Fuhrer 1992, 61-62. Harder (2012b, 390) is perhaps too sceptical about this type of dating.

[439] Fr. 716 Pf.: Καλλίστη τὸ πάροιθε, τὸ δ' ὕστερον οὔνομα Θήρη, / μήτηρ εὐίππου πατρίδος ἡμετέρης.

[440] See Pomeroy 2002, 21.

[441] Barbantani 2012, 46.

[442] See Fantuzzi 2005, 253-264.

[443] See the introduction to Chapter 5.

Egypt.[444] Accordingly, the complex allusions to the relationship between Sparta and Ptolemaic Egypt were politically important as well.

The *Victory of Berenice* is not an isolated specimen of Ἱππικά celebrating the chariot victories of the Ptolemaic court. An example contemporary with Callimachus' poem is this one from Posidippus' collection, celebrating the victory of Berenice II (AB 79):

παρθένος ἡ βασίλισσα σὺν ἅντυ[γ]ι, ναί, Βερενίκη
πάντας ἅμα ζευκτοὺς ἀθλοφορεῖ στεφάνους,
Ζεῦ παρὰ σοὶ Νεμεᾶτα· τάχει δ' ἀπελίμπανεν ἵππων
δίφρος ἐπεὶ [κάμψα]ι τὸν πολὺν ἡνίοχον,
δαλ[οῖς δ' εἴκελοι ἵ]ππ̣οι ὑπὸ ῥ[υτ]ῆρι θέοντες
πρῶ[τοι ἐς Ἀ]ργ̣ο̣λικοὺς ἦλθον [ἀγω]νοθέτας

> Virgin indeed is the Queen with the chariot, Berenice herself: she wins *en bloc* all the crowns for harnessed racing at your Nemean festival, O Zeus. By the speed of her horses the chariot [when turning], left many riders. [Like fire-brands] the steeds, galloping under the reins, were to first to reach the Argive umpires. (Trans. Austin & Bastianini 2002, 105)

The epigram of Posidippus demonstrates that horse-racing was an esteemed sport in the Lagid court.[445] It is, of course, not unusual that the royal are enthusiastic about horses but, as Marco Fantuzzi proposes,[446] the Ptolemaic interest in horse-racing could also echo Pharaonic interest.

After this brief excursus to the context of the *Victory of Berenice*, let us begin the analysis of the proem. The first three verses help us date the poem, but also enable us to explore some of the key characteristics of the poem. Two particular features catch one's attention, namely the undisguised Pindaric undertone and the portrayal of Berenice as a ἱερὸν αἷμα of the Sibling Gods, Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II.

[444] Barbantani 2012, 48.

[445] See Carney 2013, 27-29.

[446] Fantuzzi 2005, 250. See also Decker 1987, 54-62.

The grandiose opening in particular suggests Pindaric influence,[447] which is not surprising considering the prominence of Pindar in the tradition of epinician poetry. An especially important model for the *Victory of Berenice* is Pindar's *Pythian* 4, the longest and one of the most complex of his odes. In this ode, king Arcesilaus IV, a fellow Cyrenean of Callimachus and Berenice II, has won in the Pythian Games. Pindar's *Pythian* 4, just like Callimachus' *Victory*, contains a long mythical section. One particular device that Callimachus utilizes in his *Victory of Berenice* is the Pindaric break-off formula (*Abbruchsformel*) in which the poet suddenly ceases the narrative.[448]

Callimachus refers to Berenice II as ἱερὸν αἷμα in the second verse of his poem. This phrase underlines Berenice's status as a hereditary and a divine member of the Ptolemaic dynasty. In reality, however, Berenice II was not a child of the Sibling-Gods (κασίγνητοι θέοι), namely Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II, but was a daughter of Magas of Cyrene and Apama. Magas was a stepson of Ptolemy I Soter, a fact that Callimachus likely inspected in his poem on Magas and Berenice (fr. 388 Pf.). Callimachus identifies Philadelphus and Arsinoe by their dynastic cult titles; he employs the rare adjective κασίγνητος instead of the more familiar ἀδελφός. On the other hand, however, the phrase ἱερὸν αἷμα bears an Egyptian connotation. The word αἷμα suggest a blood-relationship,[449] which brings to mind the hypercorrect Ptolemaic practice of mimicking the tradition of Egyptian sibling marriages. This Ptolemaic practice recreates the mythical union of Isis and Osiris.

The *Victory of Berenice* continues with an especially learned description of how the χρύσεον ἔπος about Berenice's win arrived in Alexandria (Harder 54.4-10):

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[447] Cf. Pi. *N.* 1.1-8: Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ, / κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος Ὀρτυγία, / δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος, / Δάλου κασιγ|νήτα, σέθεν ἁδυεπής / ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται θέμεν / αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων / μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν· / ἅρμα δ' ὀτ|ρύνει Χρομίου Νεμέα / τ' ἔργμασιν νικαφόροις ἐγκώμιον ζεῦξαι μέλος. Also Pi. *N.* 4.6-11: ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, / ὅ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχᾳ / γλῶσσα φ|ρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας. / τό μοι θέμεν Κρονίδᾳ τε Διὶ καὶ Νεμέᾳ / Τιμασάρχου τε πάλᾳ /ὕμνου προκώμιον εἴη. Also, the word ἔδνον, usually denoting a suitor's gifts to the bride's family, is characteristically Pindaric. For this, see Fuhrer 1992, 129-130; Massimilla 2010, 227; Harder 2012, 395-396.

[448] For this device, see Bowra 1964, 312. See also Harder 2012b, 583.

[449] Harder 2012b, 397-398.

ἁρμοῖ γὰρ ⸢Δαναοῦ γ⸣ῆς ἀπὸ βουγενέος
εἰς Ἑλένη[ς νησῖδ]α̣ καὶ εἰς Παλληνέα μά[ντιν,
ποιμένα [φωκάων], χρύσεον ἦλθεν ἔπος,
Εὐφητῃάδ[αο παρ᾽] ἠρίον οὔ[νεκ᾽] Ὀφέλτου
ἔθρεξαν προ[τέρω]ν̣ οὔτινες ἡνιόχων
ἄσθματι χλι[….]..πιμιδας, ἀλλὰ θει⸢ό⸣ν̣τ⸢ι⸣ων⸢
ὡς ἀνέμων ⸢οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἁματροχίας⸣.

For recently there came from the land of Danaus, born from a cow, to Helen's island and the Pallenean seer, the sealherd, a golden message, that near the tomb of Opheltes, the son of Euphetes, they ran by no means heating the shoulders of charioteers in front of them with their breath, but in fact while they ran like the winds no one saw their traces.

This passage, teeming with allusions to the ancient ties between Argos and Egypt, deals with the ancestry of the Ptolemies because the Macedonian kings claimed to be descendants of Temenus, the mythical king of Argos. Callimachus describes Argolis as Δαναοῦ γῆς βουγενέος, referring to the myth about the Danaids. Furthermore, the epithet βουγενής refers to Io. She was a priestess of Hera in Argos and was transformed into a heifer by Hera because Hera was jealous of her affair with Zeus. Callimachus examined the link between Io and the Danaids elsewhere in the *Aetia* as well: Harder 66.1 mentions Io as the mother of the Argive springs (ἡρῶσσαι [..].ι̣ᾶ̣ς ἴασίδος νέπ̣[ο]δ̣ες). The goddess Io was the mythical ancestress of the Danaid line. The epithet βουγενής introduces an Egyptian dimension because Io's connections with Egyptian mythology are well-attested as she was frequently identified with Isis.[450]

Ἑλένης νῆσος was a small island in the Canopic mouth of the Nile, Παλληνεύς μάντις is Proteus. The sense of Helen's Island is clear. It refers to the story of the "New Helen" in which Helen is transported not to Troy, as in the traditional myth, but to Egypt. On her island, explains Nicander,[451] Helen tried in vain to save the life of

[450] Hicks 1962. Hdt. 2.41.

[451] *Ther*. 309-318: εἰ ἔτυμον, Τροίηθεν ἰοῦσ᾽ ἐχαλέψατο φύλοις / Αἰνελένη, ὅτε νῆα πολύστροιβον παρὰ Νεῖλον / ἔστησαν βορέαο κακὴν προφυγόντες ὁμοκλήν, / ἦμος ἀποψύχοντα κυβερνητῆρα Κάνωβον / Θώνιος ἐν ψαμάθοις ἀθρήσατο· τύψε γὰρ εὐνῇ / αὐχέν᾽ ἀποθλιφθεῖσα καὶ ἐν βαρὺν ἤρυγεν ἰόν / αἱμοροΐς θήλεια, κακὸν δέ οἱ ἔχραε κοῖτον. / τῷ δ᾽ Ἑλένη μέσον ὁλκὸν ἐνέθλασε,

Canobus who had been fatally bitten by a snake. The Pallenean seer is an erudite depiction of Proteus, a sealherd who lived on the island of Pharos. According to a story of Lycophron,[452] Tmolus and Telegonus, sons of Proteus, had a habit of killing strangers in Egypt. Consequently, Proteus was forced to flee to Pallene of Thrace where he stayed until his sons were killed by Heracles. Prioux proposes that Proteus' return from Pallene to Pharos finds an analogy in the life of Arsinoe II. She too travelled from the Thracian court of Lysimachus to the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[453]

The Nemean and the Isthmian Games originated as funeral games. According to the *Victory of Berenice*, the Nemean Games were held near the tomb of Opheltes. Callimachus' account corresponds to the traditional myth with one exception. He argues that Opheltes' father was Euphetes.[454] Traditionally, the parenthood of Opheltes was attributed to the Nemean king Lycurgus and his wife Eurydice. The myth relates that Lycurgus, worried about his son's well-being, consulted the Delphic Oracle for advice. The oracle suggested that Opheltes should never touch the ground until he had learned to walk. However, one day his nurse Hypsipyle, while guiding the Seven against Thebes, deserted the boy on the grass and then a snake strangled him. On this place the Nemean Games were founded by the Seven.

The *prooemium* is lacunous from this point on and thus the analysis is highly conjectural. The poem continues with a passage in which Colchian and Egyptian women are conjoined because they both master the art of weaving.[455] Callimachus

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θραῦσε δ' ἀκάνθης / δεσμὰ πέριξ νωταῖα, ῥάχις δ' ἐξέδραμε γυίων· / ἐξ ὅθεν αἱμορόοι σκολιοπλανέες τε κεράσται / οἵοι χωλεύουσι κακηπελίῃ βαρύθοντες.

[452] *Al.* 115-127: ὁ γάρ σε συλλέκτροιο Φλεγραίας πόσις / στυγνὸς Τορώνης, ᾧ γέλως ἀπέχθεται / καὶ δάκρυ, νῆις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τητώμενος / ἀμφοῖν, ὁ Θρῄκης ἔκ ποτ' εἰς ἐπακτίαν / Τρίτωνος ἐκβολαῖσιν ἠλοκισμένην / χέρσον περάσας, οὐχὶ ναυβάτῃ στόλῳ, / ἀλλ' ἀστίβητον οἶμον, οἷά τις σιφνεύς, / κευθμῶνος ἐν σήραγγι τετρήνας μυχούς, / νέρθεν θαλάσσης ἀτραποὺς διήνυσε, / τέκνων ἀλύξας τὰς ξενοκτόνους πάλας / καὶ πατρὶ πέμψας τὰς ἐπηκόους λιτὰς / στῆσαι παλίμπουν εἰς πάτραν, ὅθεν πλάνης / Παλληνίαν ἐπῆλθε γηγενῶν τροφόν·

[453] Prioux 2011, 220.

[454] Cf. Pi. *N.* hyp.c 3.3.1: τὰ Νέμεά φασιν ἄγεσθαι ἐπὶ Ὀφέλτῃ τῷ Εὐφήτου καὶ Κρεούσης παιδὶ, ὃν Εὐφήτην ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον.

[455] Colchis was a city located on the Black Sea. According to Herodotus (2.104), the city was colonized by Egyptians.

might have juxtaposed the τέχνη of the weaving women with his own τέχνη in composing poetry. The passage is as follows (Harder 54.11-19):

ημεν δ̣ὴ πο̣[
καὶ πάρ̣ος Ἀργει[
καιρωτους τε[
Κολχίδες ἢ Νείλω[ι
λεπταλέους ἔξυσαν̣.[
εἰδ̣ι̣υῖ̣ι̣αι φαλιὸν τ̣ι̣α̣ι̣ῦ̣ι̣ρον ἰηλεμίσαι̣ι̣
....]υκων ο̣̣τ̣ε[
....].ν κομα[
.....]...[.]..[

... And first Arg[… Refined [… Colchians or by? the Nile [… They wove subtle [… Knowing how to mourn the bull with a white marking. (Transl. Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 186.)

Several suggestions have been made about the content of this fragmented passage. Parsons argues that the passage might juxtapose the triumph of an Egyptian queen in the Argive games with the rule of an Egyptian king (Danaus) in Argos.[456] Therese Fuhrer agrees with Parsons' proposition.[457] Richard F. Thomas, on the other hand, thinks that the passage is concerned with the tapestry that portrayed the events narrated in the *Victory of Berenice*.[458]

According to Arrian (*Anab*. 3.1.4), one of the first deeds Alexander the Great performed after the conquest of Egypt was to sacrifice to the Memphian Apis bull and to the other indigenous gods as well. It is likely that Ptolemy I was present when Alexander made the offerings. Indeed, Alexander and the later Ptolemies must have recognized the prestige that the Apis bull had among the Egyptians, a reflection of the anti-Persian propaganda utilized by the Macedonians to legitimize their right to rule. As an example, we know that Ptolemy Soter financed the burials of the bull at the

[456] Parsons 1977, 10.
[457] Fuhrer 1992, 66.
[458] Thomas 1983, 106-112.

beginning of his rule.[459] There were a myriad of sacred animals in ancient Egypt, but the Apis bull was the most important of them, representing a divine epiphany in a living animal.[460] The bull lived with cows inside the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

The bull is mentioned in the *Victory of Berenice*; Harder 54.16 refers to φαλιὸς ταῦρος. The bull with a white marking is Apis; its main mark was a white spot on the forehead.[461] We know that the bull had died in 247 BC, perhaps little before the victory of Berenice II. Callimachus' allusion to the burial of the bull is understandable because the recent funeral must have been a memorable spectacle. In addition, the search for the new Apis must have been a closely monitored undertaking since the divine bull could appear anywhere in Egypt.[462] The allusion to the bull deity agrees well with Callimachus' strategy of connecting Greek and Egyptian concepts because the Greeks had identified Apis with Io's son Epaphus.[463] The connection between Apis and Epaphus again links Argos with Egypt.[464] The reference to Apis was, however, of considerable significance because this theriomorphic deity was closely linked with kingship in Egypt, especially in the Ptolemaic era.[465] Furthermore, Pfeiffer (*ad loc*.) suggests that fr. 383.13 Pf. might read καιρωτους τε[λαμῶνας. This is an attractive supplement that could demonstrate that Callimachus made the Apis bull an intrinsic part of the narrative of the *Victory of Berenice*. According to Pfeiffer, then, the passage would subsequently refer to the linen in which Apis was wrapped after its death ("fasciis, quibus Apin mortuum involverunt"). This emendation has received varying

[459] Diod. Sic. 1.84.

[460] Zivie-Coche 2004, 21.

[461] Hdt. 3.28: Ἔχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἆπις καλεόμενος σημήια τοιάδε, ἐὼν μέλας ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκόν τι τρίγωνον.

[462] Thompson 2012, 181-182.

[463] Hdt. 2.153.

[464] The reference to Apis also accentuates the significance of Cyrene through a Pindaric reminiscence. At the beginning of *Pythian* 4, an important model for the *Victory of Berenice*, Medea prophesies how the Theran Greeks will colonize Libya, the daughter of Epaphus (*Pyth*. 4.13-16): Ἄκε|λυτε, παῖδες ὑπερθύμων τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν·/ φαμὶ γὰρ τᾶσδ' ἐξ ἁλιπ|λά- / κτου ποτὲ γᾶς Ἐπάφοιο κόραν / ἀστέων ῥίζαν φυτεύσεσθαι μελησιμβρότων / Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθ|λοις.

[465] See Crawford 1980, 8-18

approval; Harder thinks that the supplement is "tentative",[466] Massimilla, however, calls it "molto suggestivo".[467]

PSI 1500, published in 2008 by Guido Bastianini,[468] connects two previously published fragments (*PSI* inv. 1923 and *PSI* inv. 2002). It is not certain whether or not this part belongs to the *prooemium* of the *Victory of Berenice*, but it is very likely because the hand of *PSI* 1500 is similar to that of *P.Oxy*. 2173, which contains the beginning of Callimachus' poem.[469] This *novum* confirms that the opening of the poem was longer than previously thought. It also links Argos more closely with Egypt. The unified passage reads as follows (Harder. 54a.1-11):

].[
Ἰναχ[ίδα]ις κει
δωδ[ε]κάκις πιερὶ δίφρον ἐπήγαγεν ὄθματα † δίφρου
καὶ τ[.]. Ἀμυνώ̣[η
κρή[ν]η̣ καλά νάουσα κ̣[
δρωμ̣[ω̃]σιν·Δαναοῦ δε[
ἱππα̣[στ]ῆρ' ἅτ̣ε̣ τ̣οῦτο φε̣[
Αἴγυπτ̣ος γενεῆς αἵμ' α̣[
δ̣ηθάκ[ι] μου τὸν Νε̣ῖ̣λο[ν
κ̣εῖνος ος ἐν Προίτου ξ[
ὡς ἔνεπεν· τοὶ δ' ἦχο̣ν [

> For the Inachids … twelve times around [?] directed [?] eyes to the chariot … Amymone … fair spring dwelling … they ran. Of Danaus … horseman, seeing as this … Egypt … blood from the lineage … often my Nile? (or of me whom the Nile) … that one who in the … of Proetus … spoke thus [?]. And to him the sound [. (Transl. Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 185.)

This text is difficult to interpret, but the proper names enable us to examine its content. The passage apparently inquired into the relationship between Argos and

[466] Harder 2012b, 411.
[467] Massimilla 2010, 235.
[468] Bastianini 2008.
[469] Harder 2012b, 413-414.

Egypt by describing the similarities between the run of Berenice's chariot team and the swift flowing of the Argive springs.[470] The Inachids are the Argives; they are portrayed as Io's descendants. Amymone was not only one of the daughters of Danaus, but she also gave name to one of the Argive springs. Proetus was a king of Argos and one of the descendants of Aegyptus. The last line begins with ὣς ἔνεπεν which likely indicates that this passage belongs to a speech. We do not know who is speaking in this passage. Harder thinks that it is a herald who is delivering the message about Berenice's win in Alexandria,[471] Massimilla, on the other hand, suspects Proteus.[472] The suggestive μου τὸν Νεῖλον perhaps backs the assumption that the speaker is Proteus.[473] A point of comparison could be the *Victory of Sosibius* where the Nile appears as a speaker.[474] After Harder. 54a.1-11 the poem continues with 13 virtually illegible lines.

We have noted that in the *prooemium* Callimachus carefully interwove the victory of Berenice II at the Nemean Games with the myth about the Danaids. I will next place the emphasis on the mythological section of the *Victory of Berenice*. It seems that this section could have been greatly influenced by the Egyptian beliefs.

Heracles, Molorcus and the mice of Ophion: the mythical section of the Victory of Berenice

The architecture of the mythical section of the *Victory of Berenice* is more complex than that of the *prooemium*. The myth section complements the celebration of the chariot victory and turns the *Victory of Berenice* into an especially sophisticated and intricate eulogy. Callimachus juxtaposed Berenice's victory at the Nemean Games with Heracles' victory over the lion of Nemea, but most likely he did not narrate the details of the mythical struggle at all.[475] The poet constructed instead an innovative parallel to

[470] Harder 2012b, 417.

[471] Harder 2012b, 418-419.

[472] Massimilla 2010, 241-242.

[473] Bastianini 2008, 180.

[474] See the introduction to Chapter 5.

[475] This device echoes the Pindaric *Abbruchsformel*. For instance, *Pyth*. 4.247-251: μακ᾽ρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ᾽ ἀμαξιτόν• ὥρα / γὰρ συνάπτει καί τινα / οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν• πολ- / λοῖσι δ᾽ ἄγημαι σοφίας ἑτέροις / κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχ᾽ναις ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν. The monster is the dragon, which Iason wrestled against in Colchis. For the passage, see Braswell 1988, 333-344.

the fight: Molorcus' mock-heroic clash with the mice re-enacts the struggle between Heracles and the lion, with a witty cosmological flair.

Like the *prooemium*, the mythological section survives in fragments. Its reconstruction is based mainly on the account of Probus.[476] According to his report, Heracles stayed at the cabin of Molorcus before he went to kill the Nemean Lion (*Molorchus fuit Herculis hospes, apud quem is diversatus est, cum proficisceretur ad leonem Nemeum necandum*). Probus also sheds light on the myth behind the tradition of giving a celery wreath to the winners at the Nemean Games, a tale that grasps some of the comical aspects of the character of Heracles. Unfortunately, the account does not mention certain key events of Callimachus' poem and therefore fails to acknowledge the diversity of the *Victory of Berenice*. The poem, indeed, contains several conflicting αἴτια.[477]

A major part of the mythical section of the *Victory of Berenice* consists of a hospitality scene in which Heracles seeks refuge at Molorcus' abode in an Argolid town of Kleonai.[478] The figure of Molorcus appears to be an invention or, perhaps more likely, a discovery of Callimachus.[479] The fragments we possess elucidate regrettably little of this character, but he was not a solitary man. *SH* 259.2-4 portrays a woman, perhaps Molorcus' wife or daughter, preparing a meal for Heracles. The meeting between Heracles and Molorcus mirrors the hospitality scene of *Odyssey* 14. In this well-known episode, Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, associates with Eumaeus, his loyal swineherd. In addition to providing a model for the hospitality scene, the meeting of Odysseus and Eumaeus might have a contemporary dimension. In the *Odyssey*,

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[476] *SH* 266: *'Lucos Molorchi' Nemeam dicit. Molorchus fuit Herculis hospes, apud quem is diversatus est, cum proficisceretur ad leonem Nemeum necandum. Qui cum immolaturus esset unicum arietem, quem habebat, ut Herculem liberalius acciperet, impetravit ab eo Hercules, ut eum servaret, immolaturus vel victori tamquam Deo vel victo et † interfecto leone cum solutus esset † vel odio Iunonis, ne ei caelestes honores contingerent, vel fatigatus, experrectus mira damnum celeritate correxit, sumpta apiacea corona, qua ornantur, qui Nemea vincunt. Supervenit itaque et Molorcho paranti sacrificium Manibus, ubi et aries immolatus erat. Inde Nemea instituta sunt: postea Archemori Manibus sunt renovata a septem viris, qui Thebas petebant. Sed Molorchi mentio est apud Callimachum in Αἰτίων libris*. For the other ancient evidence, see Parsons 1977, 1-4.

[477] Harder (2012b, 387-388) lists eight.

[478] For the hospitality scenes in Greek literature, see Hollis 2009, 341-354.

[479] Parsons 1977, 43.

Odysseus and Eumaeus are discussing Helen. Both men resent her, but Eumaeus is particularly annoyed with Helen, wishing she had died (*Od*. 14.68-69): ὡς ὤφελλ' Ἑλένης ἀπὸ φῦλον ὀλέσθαι / πρόχνυ, ἐπεὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσε. Berenice II balanced in the Ptolemaic court in the shadow of Arsinoe II who was identified with Helen in the dynastic cult.

Before I begin the analysis of the mythical section, a few words on its premise are necessary. The killing of the Lion of Nemea was the first of the twelve labours of Heracles. This demi-god provides a link to the Ptolemaic court because he is the mythical forefather of the Macedonian Argead line. The first Macedonian king was Caranus of Macedon who, as the myth says, was a great-great-great-grandson of Heracles.

Heracles was not a god by birth for he was a son of Zeus and of Alcmene, a mortal woman. Hera, in her jealousy over the entanglement of Zeus, drove Heracles mad and he consequently killed all his children. To atone for this deed, Heracles was first ordered by Eurystheus to accomplish ten labours (to which two more were added later), after which he would receive immortality. In the context of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult, Heracles is a figure that diminishes the gap between mortals and immortals. He is thus an optimal protagonist in a poem that praises a member of the Ptolemaic court.

The lion of Nemea was a mythical beast that wreaked havoc in the district of Nemea. The ancients proposed several theories about its genealogy. The motherhood of the Nemean Lion is often attributed to Echidna, the viper-goddess, but sometimes to Chimaera.[480] According to Hesiod (*Theog*. 327), the lion's father was Orthrus, but Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.5.1) suggests Typhon. The extant fragments of the *Victory of Berenice* lack an account of the parentage of the lion. However, according to *SH* 267a, an entry from *Ethnica* Stephanus of Byzantium, Callimachus (and also Pindar) narrated that the Nemean Lion was a descendant of Selene, the goddess of the moon. A passage from Aelian's *De Natura Animalium* (12.7) suggests that the Nemean lion fell from the moon (καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Νεμεαῖον λέοντα τῆς σελήνης ἐκπεσεῖν φασι). Aelian furthermore quotes a passage of Epimenides in which the Cretan sage writes that the

[480] See West 1966, 256.

lion is a descendant of Selene. We also know that Anaxagoras suggested that Selene was the mother of the lion.[481] Furthermore, *SH* 267 proposes that it was Hera who sent the lion to devastate Nemea. Hera, the wife of Zeus, connects the proem to the mythical section since the goddess was also the cause of Io's distress which was the origin of the Danaid myth. One also remembers Hera's prominence in preventing Leto from giving birth to Apollo in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, a poem greatly influenced by Egyptian thought. Apollo, just like Heracles, was Zeus' illegitimate son.

There are no wild lions in Greece at present, but in ancient times European lions (*Panthera leo europaea*) dwelled especially in the northern parts of Greece. In Pharaonic times a small population of lions lived in the desert of Egypt,[482] and several Egyptian gods were portrayed as lions. For instance, the guardian of the entrance of the Underworld, Aker, is usually depicted as two lions. The *De Natura Animalium* of Aelian mentions (12.7) an Egyptian city where tame lions were worshipped as avatars of Sekhmet, the warrior goddess. Lion hunting was also a Pharaonic sport in Egypt, even though these felid beasts naturally posed a threat to the farmers with livestock.[483]

If we return to Callimachus' text, we do not know how he made the transition from the *prooemium* to the mythical section due to the fragmentary nature of the *Victory of Berenice*. The aforementioned *SH* 267 could have been involved in this transition,[484] but this is hypothetical. When the poem eventually continues (in a mutilated form), we are in the middle of a conversation, likely that of Heracles and Molorcus. The passage must portray their first encounter because the topic of their interchange is the pandemonium caused by the lion.[485] Because Molorcus is not able to go outside and chop wood, he is forced to serve a cold and vegetarian meal to his notoriously meat-eating guest. Even the livestock of Molorcus are unhappy, a detail that further stresses the need of the old farmer (Harder 54b.27-28):

[481] Schol. Apoll. 1.498. See Kampakoglou 2013, 130-131.
[482] For the lions in Egypt, see Rössler-Köhler 1980.
[483] Kampakoglou 2013, 117-118.
[484] Fuhrer 1992, 66 n. 232.
[485] Harder 2012b, 420-421.

...].ε καὶ λίπτουσα δακεῖν κυτίισοιο [χίμαιρα
βληχ]άζει πυλέων ἐντὸς ἐερ[γομένη

...and the goat, longing to nibble at the moon-trefoil, is bleating, locked behind the gates.

The narrative is very fragmentary from here onwards. When the text is again readable, Callimachus portrays Molorcus' distress (Harder 54c.5-14):

ἀστὴρ δ' εὖτ'] ἄρ' ἔμελλε βοῶν ἄπο μέσσαβα [λύσειν
αὔλιος], ιὃς δυθμὴιν εἶσιν ὕπ' ἠελίου
]ὡς κεῖνος Ὀφιονίδηισι φαείν[ει
]θεῶν τοῖσι παλαιοτέροις,
]τηρι θύρην· ὁ δ' ὅτ' ἔκλυεν ἠχ[ήν,
ὡς ὁπότ' ὀκν]ηρῆς ἴαχ' ἐπ' οὖς ἐλάφου
σκ]ύμνος, [μέ]λ̣λ̣|ε] μὲν ὅσσον ἀκουέμεν, ἦκα δ' ἔλ̣[εξεν·
"ὀχληροί, τί τ̣ό|δ'] ᾳ̣ὖ γείτονες ἡμε[τ]έ̣ρ̣ο̣ν
ἤκατ' ἀποκναίσοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ'] οὔτι φέρο̣[ισθε;
ξ]είν̣οι̣ς̣ κωκυμοὺς ἔπλασεν ὔμμε θεός."

and when the evening-star was about to loosen the yoke of the oxen, who at the time of the setting of the sun …, when he (sc. the sun) is shining for the descendants of Ophion, … the older of the gods, … at the door, and when he heard the sound, as when a lion's cub roars at the ear of a fearful deer, he stopped for a moment to listen and then spoke softly: 'Troublesome creatures, why have you come as neighbours to destroy our home, because you will gain absolutely nothing? A god made you into sources of wailing for guests and hosts.'

When night falls, mice invade the hut of Molorcus. The passage is riddled with Homeric words and similes,[486] which creates a humorous effect considering the non-epic setting.[487] The meeting of Heracles and Molorcus took place in Kleonai, a village that was, according to a myth, colonized by Chalcidians escaping from a mouse plague.[488] It is perhaps of interest that Chalcidice was considered to be colonized by

[486] Massimilla 2010, 265-271. For instance, Molorcus' reaction to the rustle of the mice is compared to that of a deer when it hears the roar of a lion's whelp (ὡς ὁπότ' ὀκνηρῆς ἴαχ' ἐπ' οὖς ἐλάφου σκύμνος).
[487] See Livrea 1980, 252-253.
[488] Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 85.

people from Chalcis, Euboea.[489] On the island of Euboea, Io gave birth to Epaphus who was often identified with Apis in Greek thought.

Callimachus portrays the mice in a manner that mirrors the Egyptian notion about the fight between order and chaos. The mice represent something alien that shakes the equilibrium. Harder 54c.7 mentions the descendants of Ophion (Ὀφιονίδησι φαείν[ει). Ophion (or Ophioneus), a monster from pre-Olympian times, is known to us via the writings of Pherecydes of Syros. Apparently the first Greek author to write prose, he was occupied with cosmological thought. According to Pherecydean cosmology, the cosmos is based on three principles, namely Zas (Zeus), Cthonie and Chronos. Eventually Chronos and Ophioneus engaged in a battle. This struggle finds an obvious parallel in the Hesiodic account of the fight between Zeus and the Titans. Ophion's name means a 'snake' (LSJ s.v. Ὄφις). Other Hellenistic poets were also familiar with this serpent. Apollonius of Rhodes, for instance, refers to Ophion in his *Argonautika*.[490] Let us discuss further the account of Pherecydes (DK B12):

> [ὁ Κέλος φησί] Φερεκύδην δὲ πολλῶι ἀρχαιότερον γενόμενον Ἡρακλείτου μυθοποιεῖν στρατείαν στρατείαι παραταττομένην καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡγεμόνα Κρόνον <ἀπο>διδό-ναι, τῆς ἑτέρας δ' Ὀφιονέα, προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀμίλλας αὐτῶν ἱστορεῖν, συνθήκας τε αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ὁπότεροι αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν Ὠγηνὸν ἐμπέσωσι, τούτους μὲν εἶναι νενικημένους, τοὺς δ' ἐξώσαντας καὶ νικήσαντας τούτους ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ βουλήματός φησιν ἔχεσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας καὶ Γίγαντας μυστήρια θεο-μαχεῖν ἀπαγγελλομένους, καὶ τὰ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις περὶ Τυφῶνος καὶ Ὥρου καὶ Ὀσίριδος.

And [Kelsos says][491] that Pherekydes, being much older than Herakleitos, constructed a myth of army arrayed against army, and he gave Kronos as the leader of one, and

[489] The region of Chalcidice also appears in the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* and in the *Lock of Berenice*. See Chapters 4.2 and 5.2.

[490] 1.503-506: ἤειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε / Ὠκεανὶς νιφόεντος ἔχον κράτος Οὐλύμποιο· / ὥς τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν ὁ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἴκαθε τιμῆς, / ἡ δὲ Ῥέῃ, ἔπεσον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο.

[491] See Schibli 1990, 79 n. 2.

> Ophioneus the other, and he told of their challenges and conflicts, and of their terms, that whichever of them fell into Ogenos, these would be the vanquished, while those who trust them out and vanquished them, those would possess heaven. And he [sc. Kelsos] says that mysteries about the Titans and the Giants who are reported as fighting the gods and the stories told among the Egyptians about Typhon and Horus and Osiris, depend upon the meaning of this account. (Trans. Schibli 1990, 170)

Pherecydes, then, identified the legend of Ophion with several other mythical battles. One of them was the Egyptian story about the fight of Horus (and Osiris) against Typhon. Given that Ophion was identified with Typhon, namely Seth, it is noteworthy that Harder 54c.5-14 takes place during the sunset; ἀστὴρ αὔλιος is the evening-star. In Egyptian thought, sunrise and sunset were the most critical moments in the battle between order and chaos.[492] The image of the descendants of Ophion on whom the sun shines in the night could therefore suppose the Egyptian image of the wandering of the sun.[493] This κατάβασις of Re is a myth about the snake Apophis trying to swallow the sun during its nightly journey through the Underworld. *Pyr*. § 2260, for instance, says, "Get back, snake that attacks in the night …" Callimachus' treatment of this episode suggests that the battle between Molorcus and the mice re-enacts the cosmological battle between the forces of order and chaos. This was a central Egyptian dogma, represented in Pharaoh's duty to preserve the proper world order (*ma'at*) by performing the daily ceremonies.

Callimachus portrays next how the rodents have nibbled Molorcus' clothes and eaten his precious lamp oil, but also how they have kept him awake by dancing on his head. To outwit the mice, Molorcus develops a mousetrap (Harder 54c.15-33):

[492] Te Velde 1977, 105.

[493] Kampakoglou 2013, 125-127.

ὣ]ς̣ ἐνέπων τ̣ὸ̣ μ̣ὲν ἔργον, ὅ̣ οἱ μετὰ [...].ι̣νε̣[
ῥ̣ῖ̣]ψεν, [ἐ]π̣ὶ̣ σ̣μ̣ίνθοις κ̣[ρ]υπτὸν ἔτευχε δ̣ό̣λ̣ο̣ν·
ἐν] δ᾽ ἐ̣τ̣ι̣ίθ̣ι̣ει̣ι π̣ι̣α̣γ̣ίδεσσιν ὀλέθρια δείλατα δ̣ο̣ι̣αῖ̣ς
ἀΐ̣]ρ̣ινο̣[ν ἐ]λ̣λ̣ε̣β̣[όρωι] μ̣ι̣ίγδα μ̣ι̣άλευρον ἑλών
..]ν̣τ̣.[.|ω̣ιτα.α[.....].. θάνατον δὲ κάλ̣[υψε
..].κ.[.].[...]γειη.[....].α̣γ̣ωσιν ἔπι
..]η̣μ̣.ν[. ὡ]ς̣ κίρ̣κ̣ο̣[ι....]... ἄ̣ρτι π̣ε̣ρ̣ό̣ν̣[τες
π̣ο̣ι̣λλάκ̣ι̣ς̣ ι̣ε̣ι̣κ λύχνου πῖον ἔλειξαν ἔαρ
ἀλ̣ι̣καίαις ἀ̣φ̣ύσαντες, ὅ̣τ᾽ οὐκ ἐπὶ πώμα̣ [τ᾽ ἔκειτο
ἄλ]μ̣α̣ι̣ς̣ καὶ̣ φ̣ι̣άλῃ̣ι̣ς̣, ἢ̣ ὁπότ᾽ ἐξ ἑτέρης
ε̣ἴ̣λ̣η̣σ̣αν̣ χ̣η̣λ̣οῖ̣ο, τά τ᾽ ἀνέρος ἔργα πενιχρ̣ο̣ῦ̣
...]ο̣. οκ... σ̣κ̣ληροῦ σκί̣<μ>π[τετο λ]ᾰ̣ο̣ς̣ ὕπο
κλ]ισμὸν̣ α...τ̣ε̣π̣[.....ὠ]ρχήσα̣[ντο
βρέγματι, καὶ κανθ̣ι̣ῶν ἤλασ̣ι̣αν ᾠ̣̃ρον ἄπο,
ἀλλὰ τόδ᾽ οἱ σ̣ίν̣τ̣αι βρα[χέ]ηι ἔν̣ι̣ ν̣υ̣κτὶ τέλεσσαν̣,
κ̣ύντατον, ᾧ̃ι πλεῖστ[ον] μήνατο κεῖνος ἔπι,
ἄμφ[ιά] οἱ σισύρην [τ]ε κακοὶ κίβισίν τε διέβρον.
τοῖσ]ι̣ [δὲ] διχθαδίους εὐτύκασεν φονέας,
ἴπ̣ό̣ι̣ν ι̣τ᾽ ἀνδίκτην τε μάλ᾽ ε̣ἰ̣δότα μ̣ι̣α̣ι̣κρὸν ἀλέ̣ι̣σθαι.

When he had thus spoken he threw away the work … and he hid the death because he was preparing a secret trap for the mice; and in two traps he put deadly baits, having taken wheat-flour with hellebore … often they had licked the fat oil from the lamps, scooping it up with their lion's tails, when the lid was not placed on brine and bowls or when they pushed (the lid) from another chest, and the things were made by a poor man … pressed from under a hard stone … they had danced on his head and driven sleep from his eyes, but *this* the ravening monsters had completed in one brief night as the most shameless thing, about which he was most furious: the villains had consumed his clothes, his goatskin, and his knapsack. For them he prepared two killers, a crusher and a trap well able to jump over a long distance.

LSJ s.v. ἴπος says "in a mouse-trap, the *piece of wood that falls and catches the mouse*: generally *any weight*". It seems that Callimachus chose this quite rare word because it refers to Pindar's description (*Ol*. 4.4-7) of Mount Aetna as an ἴπος that

keeps the monster Typhon still.[494] Molorcus' mousetrap, like the weight of Mt. Aetna,[495] keeps the forces of evil under control. It is difficult to believe that this allusion would have been lost on the audience of Callimachus.

In ancient Egypt mice were a constant nuisance, especially harming the grain stores, but in Egyptian literature they often appear in fables. For instance, a fable tells a story about an army of mice conquering a fortress held by cats.[496] The fiends of the mythological section of the *Victory of Berenice* appear together in one particular Egyptian fable. The *Myth of the Eye of the Sun*, a long Demotic narrative, contains an episode recounted in the *Fables* of Aesop. This story, the *Lion in Search of Man*,[497] narrates the meeting between a lion and a mouse. The lion first spares the life of the mouse, but afterwards the lion gets caught in a hunter's trap, and the mouse gnaws it free. Callimachus' stories utilized fables,[498] a popular genre in the Greek and Egyptian cultures alike. It is impossible to know whether or not Callimachus drew upon the Egyptian fables when composing this *encomium*. I think, however, it is possible because the *Victory of Berenice* elevates the humble mouse into the role of the cosmological threat. It seems that the episode portraying the battle between Molorcus and the mice was Callimachus' invention.[499] This was better suited to the propagandist aims of the poem because lions were not considered to be animals of Seth in Egypt, but the Seth-animal was sometimes depicted as a long-snouted mouse.[500] This was, however, not the most common representation of Seth. Yet the image of Seth as a long-snouted mouse could still be of some significance when tracing Egyptian influence in the poem of Callimachus.[501]

The Ptolemaic era witnessed a substantial interest in sidereal matters. Like the *Lock of Berenice* and the *Victory of Sosibius*, the *Victory of Berenice* comments on this interest. According to Callimachus, then, the Nemean Lion was an offspring of Semele,

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[494] Harder 2012b, 461

[495] In the *Aetia* prologue (Harder 1.35-36), Athena positions Aetna on top of the giant Enceladus.

[496] See West 1969, 124-125.

[497] Lichtheim 2006b, 156-159.

[498] See Scodel 2011.

[499] See Parsons 1977, 43.

[500] Te Velde 1977, 13.

[501] Kampakoglou 2013, 122.

and Parsons proposes in his reconstruction of the *Victory of Berenice* that the poet might have included an αἴτιον about the astral origin of the Nemean lion.[502] Kampakoglou thinks that the constellation of Leo was originally the lion of Nemea; after its death, the lion catasterized and turned into a constellation.[503] In this context, it is of importance that the Egyptians considered the constellation of Leo to be connected with the Nile flood. The possible inclusion of an αἴτιον about the origin of the lion agrees with Euergetes' calendar reform as well, as noted by Hauben: "La réforme de Ptolémée III, qui revenait à une adaptation du calendrier civil à l'année sothiaque et, par ce biais, (pratiquement) à l'année solaire, ne concernait que le calendrier égyptien et était donc en premier lieu destinée à la population indigène."[504] We have already seen that the battle between Heracles and the Nemean Lion, like the fight between Molorcus and the mice, mirrors prominent Egyptian cosmological topoi. If the *Victory of Berenice* also included an account of the origin of the constellation of Leo, its cosmic dimensions would have been especially pronounced.

The mythological section of the *Victory of Berenice* features little divine intervention until Callimachus introduces Athena. The goddess apparently delivers a prophecy in the end part of the poem, but her speech is too fragmentary to assess adequately. It seems that Athena refers to the future custom of the Corinthians: they will substitute the celery wreath for the pine-tree wreath (Harder 54i.5-9):

καί μιν Ἀλη̣τεῖδαι π̣ο̣υλὺ γεγειότερον
τοῦδε παρ' Αἰ̣γαίωνι ̣θεῶι τελέοντες ἀγῶνα
θήσουσιν ν̣ίκης σύ̣μβολον Ἰσθμιάδος
ζήλωι τῶν Ν̣εμέηθε· πίτυν δ' ἀ̣ποτιμήσουσιν,
ἣ πρὶν ἀγων̣ιστὰς ἔστεφε το̣ὺς Ἐφύρηι.

and the sons of Aletes, celebrating games far more ancient than this one at the Aegean god's place, will turn it into proof of an Isthmian victory, emulating the victors from Nemea; they will despise the pine, which in the past served as a wreath for the contestants of Ephyra.

[502] Parsons 1977, 43.
[503] Kampakoglou 2013, 127-134.
[504] Hauben 2011, 371.

This passage reveals one of the main αἴτια of the *Victory of Berenice*. It is not the origin of the Nemean Games, but the origin of the celery wreath awarded to a winner. Perhaps this trophy was being displayed in Alexandria after the Berenice's victory. Harder 54i.5-9 is a curious passage because Athena seems to refer to the sons of Aletes (the Corinthians) when their forefather has not yet even been born. This device could echo an Egyptian literary style that often utilized a *post eventum* narrative pattern.

The presence of Athena at the end of Callimachus' poem is natural because she often backs Heracles in Greek myths.[505] For instance, in Hesiod's *Theogony* (313-318), she assist Heracles in his fight against the Hydra. Given that the battles between Heracles and the Nemean Lion and Molorcus and the mice likely refer to Egyptian cultural and religious concepts, one ponders whether or not the figure of Athena could also be influenced by Egyptian beliefs. As noted in our discussion of the *Hymn to Athena*,[506] Athena was often associated with Neith, the Egyptian goddess of war and weaving. For instance, in his *Timaeus* (21e), Plato wrote that the people of Sais worship a goddess Neith and stresses that this goddess is identified with Athena (Αἰγυπτιστὶ μὲν τοὔνομα Νηίθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δέ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ). In the Egyptian myth, Neith was an arbiter between Horus and Seth, between order and chaos. Consequently, this function of the goddess agrees well with the content of Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice*, but my argument is hypothetical because the part in which Athena manifests herself survives poorly. Neith was, however, a well-known goddess during the rule of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II. In the Temple of Hathor at Dendera, built by Euergetes, Neith, in the guise of a young girl, is portrayed as a slayer of Apophis.[507]

[505] Parsons 1977, 41.

[506] See Chapter 4.1.

[507] El-Sayed 1982, 126, 559.

Unifying elements between the prooemium *and the mythical section of the* Victory of Berenice

The *Victory of Berenice* as we know it ends with Heracles' speech (Harder 54i.17-21):

> [ ]. θυμὸν ἀρε[σσάμενος,
> ν]ύκτα μὲν αὐτόθι μίμνεν, ἀπέστιχε δ' Ἄργος ἐῶιος·
> οὐδὲ ξεινοδόκωι λήσαθ' ὑποσχεσίης,
> πέμψε δέ οἱ τὸ[ν] ὀρῆα, τίεν δέ έ ὡς ἕνα πηῶν.
> νῦ]ν δ' ἔθ' [ἀ]γι[στείη]ν οὐδαμὰ παυσομένην

…satisfying his desire for food. he spent the night there and left for Argos early in the morning. But he did not forget the promise to his host, and he sent him the mule and honoured him like one of his relatives. Even now a ritual which will never stop …

Heracles had promised to send a mule to Molorcus because the lion had killed most of his livestock. It is also a possibility that Heracles had borrowed one of Molorcus' mules when he left for Nemea.[508] Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice* contains a ring-composition: the poem begins with Berenice's horses and apparently ends with a mule Heracles donates to Molorcus.

To summarize, the *prooemium* presents the theme of Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice*. It celebrates the victory of Queen Berenice II at the Nemean Games. The opening also presents numerous examples of the relationship between Egypt and Argos. The mythical part of Callimachus' poem portrays a parallel to the chariot-victory of Berenice, namely the slaying of the Nemean lion by Heracles. However, this episode is replaced by Molorcus' combat against mice. The *Victory of Berenice* intertwines these two at least seemingly distinct episodes.

Callimachus' poem is in essence a celebration of a Ptolemaic queen, and one notices hints of a novel kind of regionalism in its narrative. The cultural landscape of the *Victory of Berenice* is simultaneously both Greek and Egyptian. It finds a similar example in Callimachus' *Victory of Sosibius* in which the Nile expresses pride in the

[508] See Harder 2012b, 481-482.

win of its nursling, Sosibius.[509] In the mythical section of the *Victory of Berenice*, Callimachus portrayed an Egyptian religious belief about the battle between order and chaos; Heracles, the forefather of the Ptolemies, and his sidekick Molorcus are the defenders of the proper world order. Furthermore, it seems evident that the poem refers to the attempts of Ptolemy III Euergetes to continue the ancient Egyptian astrological tradition.[510]

[509] See Chapter 2.

[510] See also Selden 1998, 339-340. He is, however, analysing the *Lock of Berenice*.

5.2 The Lock of Berenice

The *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110 Pf. = Massimilla 213 = Harder 110) is not only one of the best-known poems of Callimachus, but it is also one of his most original works. The protagonist and the sole *persona loquens* of this *encomium* is a catasterized πλόκαμος, a curl of hair of Berenice II, which utters a melodramatic lament about its separation from the head of the queen. A companion poem to the *Victory of Berenice*, the *Lock of Berenice* examines the character of Berenice II, but from a different perspective than the *Victory*. Whereas the *Victory of Berenice* exhibits a victorious contender at the Nemean Games, the *Lock of Berenice* instead explores certain (stereotyped) feminine aspects of the reigning queen of Egypt.

The *Lock of Berenice* can be viewed as an example of an extended votive epigram,[511] but it also mimics certain aspects of Sapphic love poetry.[512] In the *Aetia* prologue (Harder 1.1-5) the poet attacked those who had criticized him for not having written one continuous song (ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές) about kings and heroes. However, the *Lock of Berenice*, the last poem of the *Aetia*, is actually concerned with kings, queens and heroes. Callimachus' treatment of the subject is in accordance with his poetical philosophy. The elegy is in essence a study of the adoration between Berenice II and Ptolemy III Euergetes.

We can divide the *Lock* into three mains parts, framed by an introduction and an epilogue. The first part is concerned with the military campaign of Euergetes and the consequent heartbreak of Berenice II. The second part in turn deals with the sadness of the lock. The melancholy of the tress is mainly due to its separation from Berenice II and to its unpleasant location in the sky. Finally, the third part focuses on the lock's acceptance of its position as a constellation.

We do not possess much of the original text.[513] However, thanks to the *Coma Berenices* of Catullus, a Latin translation of the poem, we are able to reconstruct the Greek original. In construing the Callimachean poem based on the *Coma Berenices*,

[511] Cahen 1929, 239; Harder 2012b, 797.

[512] See Acosta-Hughes 2010, 63-81.

[513] See Massimilla 2010, 464.

one should proceed with a considerable amount of caution because the Roman poet did not translate the poem with scholarly scrupulousness. Catullus made his own version of the poem. He ignored or simplified some details, particularly the astrological intricacies of Callimachus.[514] Bing therefore thinks that "any reconstruction of the Greek on the basis of Catullus is likely to be wrong."[515] It is likely that Catullus could have been especially interested in the romantic aspects of the original poem and therefore his emphasis was somewhat different than that of Callimachus.[516]

The innovation of the *Lock of Berenice* lies in its playful mix of both Greek and Egyptian concepts.[517] The spatial wandering of the lock might be an allusion to the Platonic concept of the wandering of the soul formulated in the *Timaeus* (41d-e). In this chapter, my aim is to detect Egyptian influence in Callimachus' poem. My reading accentuates the importance of the propagandistic aspects of the poem in the context of the aftermath of the Third Syrian War and the first native uprisings that occurred during the reign of the early Ptolemies.

The context of the poem

Let us begin our discussion with the *diegesis*, according to which the *Lock of Berenice* dates from the early period of the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (Harder 110a):

> Φησὶν ὅτι Κόνων κατηστέρισε τὸν Βερενί-
> κης βόστρυχον, ὃν θεο[ῖς] ἀναθήσειν ὑπέσχε-
> το κείνη, ἐπειδὰν ἐπανήκῃ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Συ-
> ρίαν μάχης.
>
> He [Callimachus] says that Conon turned the lock of Berenice into a constellation, which she promised to dedicate to the gods when he came home from the war in Syria.

This summary does not mention some key events of the *Lock of Berenice*, especially those occurring after the first part of the poem. We must therefore consult other sources

[514] Harder 2012b, 794.
[515] Bing 2009, 82.
[516] See Puelma 1982.
[517] For the notion that the *Lock* is based fully on Greek concepts, see Nachtargael 1980, 240-253.

as well. A passage from the *Astronomica* of Hyginus (64 BC – AD 17) provides valuable information about the context of the poem (*Astr* 2.24 = Harder 110b):

> *Cuius* [sc. Leonis] *supra simulacrum proxime Virginem sunt aliae VII stellae ad caudam Leonis in triangulo collocatae, quas crines Berenices esse Conon Samius mathematicus et Callimachus dicit. Cum Ptolomaeus Berenicen Ptolomaei et Arsinoes filiam sororem suam duxisset uxorem, et paucis post diebus Asiam oppugnatum profectus esset, vovisse Berenicen, si victor Ptolomaeus redisset, se crinem detonsuram; quo voto damnatam crinem in Veneris Arsinoes Zephyritidis posuisse templo, eumque postero die non comparuisse. Quod factum cum rex aegre ferret, Conon mathematicus ut ante diximus cupiens inire gratiam regis, dixit crinem inter sidera videri collocatum et quasdam vacuas a figura septem stellas ostendit, quas esse fingeret crinem*.

> And above his sign, near Virgo, are seven other stars arranged in a triangle at the tail of Leo, which according to the mathematician Conon of Samos and Callimachus are the Lock of Berenice. When Ptolemaeus had married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemaeus and Arsinoe, his sister, and had left a few days later to attack Asia, Berenice vowed that, if Ptolemaeus returned victorious, she would cut off a lock. She placed the lock, condemned by this vow, in the temple of Cypris Arsinoe at Zephyrium and the next day it was no longer there. When the king was annoyed by this, as we have said before, the mathematician Conon, who was eager to ingratiate himself with the king, said that the lock was spotted in a position among the stars and showed a group of seven stars without shape, which he pretended to be the lock. (Trans. Harder 2012a, 294.)

This account appears sound and trustworthy although Hyginus confuses Berenice II as Euergetes' sister. To summarize the information provided by the *diegesis* and the account of Hyginus. The *Lock of Berenice* is concerned with the catasterism of a tress of hair, dedicated to the gods by Berenice II because of the promise she had previously made. The events of the *Lock of Berenice* are politically framed by the Third Syrian War.[518] Even though the outcome of the war was unfortunate–Euergetes was not able to rescue his sister, Berenice Syra, from the Seleucid court–the official Egyptian

[518] For the war, see Chapter 2.

records, such as the Adulis inscription (*OGIS* 54), emphasize that the campaign was swift and victorious. During the war, Euergetes continued further East all the way to Babylonia, imitating the conquest of the Orient by Alexander the Great.[519] Euergetes was eventually forced to return to Egypt because of an uprising of native Egyptians. When he finally returned, Berenice II accordingly sacrificed the lock in the temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Zephyrium. The lock, however, disappeared from the temple, but Conon of Samos, a court mathematician and astronomer, discovered it from the night sky. The date of the dedication of the lock likely took place in the autumn in the year 245 BC.[520] The helical rising of the constellation of the Lock of Berenice occurred between 2 and 8 September in that year. Euergetes had also returned to Egypt in 245 BC. These two events, the helical rising and the return of Euergetes, give a *terminus post quem*.

The dedication of the lock could have been the first public act of Berenice II.[521] Its vanishing was of course staged, likely by the court, but a passage from the *Astronomica* (*Conon* [...] *cupiens inire gratiam regis*) suggests that Hyginus suspected that Conon himself had framed the disappearance of the lock in order to appeal to Ptolemy III Euergetes. Be that as it may, Callimachus was intrigued by this run of events and composed a eulogy in honour of the new queen of Egypt based on the disappearance of the lock.

Before we start the analysis of the Callimachean text, we should address certain issues pertaining to the cultural and political setting of the poem. A particular idiosyncrasy is the gender of the lock. In Callimachus' poem, the lock (ὁ βόστρυχος Harder 110.8., ὁ πλόκαμος Harder 110.47, Harder 110.62) is grammatically masculine, though [ν]εότμητόν με (Harder 110.51) is ambiguous. The sister-locks of the main πλόκαμος are in turn of feminine gender (κόμαι ἀδελφεαί). However, Catullus' lock is grammatically feminine (*caesaries*, *coma*). Both poets had an opportunity to use other alternatives. Callimachus could have utilized the feminine πλοκαμίς which, apart from the position of the accent, is metrically identical to

[519] Lorber 2011, 318.
[520] Huss 2001, 353.
[521] Selden 1998, 328.

πλόκαμος. *Crinis*, for example, might have been an option for Catullus. It seems that Callimachus' choice of word was deliberate, but he could have been restricted by the name given to the constellation by Conon.[522] However, it seems that the gender of the lock introduces an Egyptian element into the poem in the first place.

A parallel to the lock of Berenice is a coral called *Isidis crinis* (Ἴσιδος πλόκαμος).[523] We know almost nothing of it, but the account of Juba, the king of Mauritania, sheds some light on this coral that lived in the depths of the Red Sea.[524] In terms of the *Lock of Berenice*, it should be acknowledged that this area was of great importance in the Ptolemaic age;[525] cult objects were brought to Egypt from the shores of the Red Sea, also to the temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Zephyrites in which Berenice II dedicated the lock.[526] In addition, several cities were established by the Red Sea by the Ptolemaic regime. For instance, the city of Philotera (present-day Safaga), was named after the sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II. It is possible that a contemporary of Callimachus could have associated the poem with Isis immediately after hearing its topic and subject-matter. Furthermore, the gender ambiguity of the lock reminds us of Isis as well. As an example, we have evidence that Isis claimed: "I have played the part of a man though I am a woman, in order to wake thy [Osiris'] name here on earth since thy divine seed was in my body".[527] This passage is concerned with Isis' ability to take the form of a man, which, I think, finds a parallel in the *Lock of Berenice*. In the Egyptian though, and especially in the Hermopolitan theology, the male and female duality is connected with the forces of creation.[528] Echoing this idea, in Callimachus' poem, an earthly Isis (Berenice II) produces an androgynous and celestial avatar without a begetter.

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[522] Koenen 1993, 94.

[523] See Jackson 2001, 3-6.

[524] Plin. *NH* 13.142: *Iuba tradit circa Trogodytarum insulas fruticem in alto vocari Isidis crinem, curalio similem esse foliis, praecisum mutato colore in nigrum durescere, cum cadat, frangi. item alium, qui vocatur chariton blepharon, efficacem in amatoriis. spatalia ex eo facere et monilia feminas; sentire eum se capi durarique cornus modo et hebetare aciem ferri. quod si fefellerint insidiae, in lapidem transfigurari.*

[525] See Mueller 2006, 47-49.

[526] Jackson 2001, 3-4.

[527] *P. Louvre 3079*. See Griffiths 1970, 353.

[528] Troy 1986, 19.

Isis was known for her hair. According to Plutarch (*De Is. et Os*. 356d), Isis dedicated one of her locks as a symbol of grief in Coptos when she heard about the death of Osiris. Many artefacts with inscription Ἶσις τριχώματος have been unearthed at Coptos (modern-day Qift).[529] The widow of the Pharaoh Tutankhamun apparently dedicated one of her locks after the death of her husband in accordance with the example of Isis.[530] Also, according to Lucian (*ad. Indoct*. 14), the locks of Isis were on display in Memphis. However, cutting of a tress of hair is also a Greek expression of sorrow. Plutarch, for instance, tells (*Quaest. Rom*. 267b) that Greek women cut off their locks as a sign of grief. In the *Iliad* (23.140-153), Achilles cut off his hair by the funeral pyre of Patroclus. In addition, when their marriage was pending, girls cut their locks and dedicated them to Artemis.[531]

In terms of the *Lock of Berenice*, it seems that the example of Isis is the most important model, as the identification between Isis and Berenice II is well attested.[532] However, Llewellyn-Jones & Winder have argued that Berenice II wanted to differ from Arsinoe II in identifying herself primarily with Hathor, an Egyptian goddess of love, mirth and motherhood often represented as a cow.[533] One of the most popular deities of the Egyptian pantheon, Hathor, like Isis, was renowned for her hair. She was often portrayed wearing fantastic wigs and other hairstyles, and her own hair was described as "blacker than night, raisins and figs". Especially the perfumed locks of Hathor were a sign of the sensuality of the goddess.[534]

The separation between the lock and Berenice II

We have noted that the premise of the *Lock of Berenice* involves complex socio-political events. Let us next begin the analysis of Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice*. It begins like a scientific treatise (Harder 110.1):

[529] See Youtie 1946, 165-167.
[530] Dunand 1973, 39.
[531] Gutzwiller 1992a, 369-370.
[532] See Dunand 1973, 37-38.
[533] Llewellyn-Jones & Winder 2011, 263-264.
[534] Llewellyn-Jones & Winder 2011, 262.

Πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὅρον ᾗ τε φέρονται.

Observing the whole sky as divided by lines and movements.

The first sentence of the poem makes clear that it is concerned with astrological matters. In fact the opening verses hardly suggest that the poem is an *encomium* at all; γραμμή and ὅρος are conspicuously technical terms.[535] The Greek original has a lacuna after the first verse, but the narrator of the poem is revealed when the Greek eventually continues (fr. 110.7-8 Pf.):

†η † με Κόνων ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἠέρι τὸν Βερενίκης
βόστρυχον ὃν κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς

Conon saw me in the sky, the lock of Berenice which she dedicated to all the gods.

The narrator of Callimachus' poem is the lock, dedicated to all the gods (πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς) by Berenice II when Ptolemy III Euergetes returned safe from the Third Syrian War. As noted before, the lock was discovered by Conon of Samos, a court mathematician and astronomer. Based on Catullus' poem,[536] the six missing verses of the Callimachean original eruditely introduced Conon and his astrological works to the readers of the poem. This unusual narrator enabled the poet, for instance, to examine the sexual passion between Euergetes and Berenice II in a respectable manner.

The phrase πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς (Cat. 66.9-10: *quam multis illa deorum* / […] *pollicita est*) hints that Berenice II dedicated the lock in the Pantheon at Alexandria. However, as Pfeiffer noted (*ad loc.*): "Berenice comam ἐν Πανθείῳ dedicavisse videtur, at nullum adhuc testimonium Panthei Alexandrini". Our first evidence of Alexandria's Pantheon comes from AD 205.[537] The plain account of Hyginus that the lock was dedicated in the temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite (*crinem in Veneris Arsinoes Zephyritidis posuisse templo*) appears trustworthy. This temple was located at Zephyrium, half way

[535] Massimilla 2010, 467-468.

[536] 66.1-6: *Omnia qui magni dispexit lumina mundi, / qui stellarum ortus comperit atque obitus, / flammeus ut rapidi solis nitor obscuretur, / ut cedant certis sidera temporibus / ut Triuiam / furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans / dulcis amor gyro deuocet aereo.*

[537] Chron. Pasch. 497.3-4: Τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὸ Σεβηριανὸν ἐκτίσθη γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἱερὸν μέγα τὸ καλούμενον Πάνθεον.

between Alexandria and Canopus. As its name suggests, the temple was used to worship Arsinoe II as Aphrodite. It was built by Callicrates of Samos, a famous admiral of Ptolemy's naval forces, who also dedicated a Temple of Isis and Anubis on behalf of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy Philadelphus.[538] Callimachus' epigram 5 Pf. = 14 GP particularly stresses the maritime aspects of the cult of Arsinoe-Aphrodite.[539] The *Lock of Berenice* makes allusions to Aphrodite on multiple occasions. For instance, the lock ascends to the heavens thanks to the help of the goddess.

Only one word survives of verses 15-38; μεγάθυμον (26) is a reconstruction of Pfeiffer (*ad loc.*). It is based on Hyginus' *Ast.* 2.24: "Callimachus eam [sc. Berenicem] magnanimam dixit", also corresponding to Cat. 66.25-26: *at <te> ego certe / cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam*. Harder emphasizes that μεγάθυμος links Berenice II with the ancient epic heroes and implies her future status as a goddess as well.[540]

I will next concentrate on two ideas that connect the first part of Callimachus' poem with Egyptian ideas, namely the notions of an Egyptian king as a destroyer of the Asiatics and the sibling marriages. Because of the fragmentariness of the Greek original, we must turn again to the poem of Catullus. The Roman poet narrates the campaign of Euergetes particularly in verses 35-36:

is haud in tempore longo
captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat.

In almost no time at all he had taken Asia and added it to the Egyptian territory.

This passage can be seen as an example of the anti-Persian propaganda utilized frequently by the Ptolemies,[541] but Selden thinks that it refers to an Egyptian topos of portraying the campaigns of a Pharaoh.[542] It is true that Seth, the god of death and of desert, was especially the lord of the Asiatics. "You have saved me from the distress of soldiers, Syrians, Greeks, Asiatics and others", reads an Egyptian text from the 26th

[538] Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 391.
[539] The temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite is also mentioned in the poetry of Posidippus (AB 39, AB 116, AB 119).
[540] See Harder 2012b, 809-811.
[541] See Chapter 2.
[542] Selden 1998, 331-337.

dynasty.[543] This part of the *Lock of Berenice* reminds us how Callimachus employed the Egyptian prophetic literature in his *Hymn to Delos* to propagandize the Ptolemaic regime to the indigenous elite of Egypt. The foreign rulers of Egypt are portrayed as genuine Egyptian Pharaohs championing *ma'at* against the destructive forces of chaos.

The *Lock of Berenice* also contemplates the sibling marriages of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Let us look at these three passages of the version of Catullus:

Cat. 66.11-14:

> *qua rex tempestate nouo auctus hymenaeo*
> *uastatum finis iuerat Assyrios,*
> *dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae,*
> *quam de uirgineis gesserat exuuiis*;

at the time when the king, blessed by his recent marriage, went out to lay waste to the land of the Assyrians, carrying the sweet traces of the nocturnal fight, which he had fought over the maidenly spoils.

Cat. 66.21-22:

> *et tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile,*
> *sed fratris cari flebile discidium*;

Let alone were you mourning not only the empty bed, but also the sad separation of your dear brother?

Cat. 66.31-32:

> *an quod amantes*
> *non longe a caro corpore abesse uolunt*.

Is it because lovers do not want to be separate from a dear body for long?"

It is possible that Catullus' erotic phrasing could have differed from that of Callimachus. Moreover, it has been suggested that verses 15-32 appear rather un-

[543] Te Velde 1977, 139.

Callimachean and thus could be additions of the Roman poet, but this view has not received much support.[544] Nonetheless, it seems that Callimachus claimed that the nature of this "sibling" marriage of Berenice II and Ptolemy III Euergetes was more or less carnal. The poet therefore speaks up for the official version of the Ptolemaic court in which queen Berenice II was seen as the daughter of Arsinoe II. In Callimachus' poem, the ruling couple are children of the divinized θεοὶ ἀδελφοί. This is substantiated later in the *Lock of Berenice*; in Harder 110.45, Callimachus writes that Arsinoe II is the mother of Berenice II.

The lock continues its lamentation when the original Greek is again readable (Harder 110.44-50):

ἀμνά]μ̣ω̣[ν Θείας ἀργὸς ὑ]π̣ερφέ̣[ρ]ε̣τ̣[αι,
βουπόρος Ἀρσινόη̣ι̣ς μ̣ητρὸς σέο, καὶ διὰ μέ̣[σσου
Μηδείων ὁλοαὶ νῆες ἔβησαν Ἄθω.
τί πλόκαμοι ῥέξωμεν, ὅτ' οὔρεα τοῖα σιδή[ρωι
εἴκουσιν; Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος,
γειόθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φυτόν, οἵ μιν ἔφι̣ηναν
πρῶτοι καὶ τυπίδων ἔφρασαν ἐργασίην.

> the bright descendant of Thia moved, the ox-piercer of your mother Arsinoe, and the destructive ships of the Medes sailed through Mt. Athos. What are we, locks, to do, when such mountains yield to iron? May the race of Chalybes perish, who first revealed it, rising from the earth, an evil growth, and taught the work of hammers.

This charming yet riddling passage is concerned with the lock's sense of powerlessness in the face of scissors made of iron;[545] if iron can cut a canal through Mt. Athos, it surely can cut a little lock of hair from the head of Berenice II. The lock refers to the events that took place in the Second Persian invasion of Greece. According to Herodotus (7.22-24), Xerxes, the king of Persia, ordered a canal to be dug through

[544] See Harder 2012b, 809-811.

[545] The identity of the descendant of Thia is a mystery. Callimachus refers here either to the son of Theia and Hyperion, namely Helios, or to the grandson of Theia, namely Boreas. Pfeiffer (1932, 187) thinks that Callimachus refers to Boreas, but according to Harder (2012b, 813) Helios is perhaps the more likely proposition. The Chalybes were the mythical ironsmiths that lived around the Black Sea and Scythia.

the isthmus of Mt. Athos in order to display his power and also to leave a monument of the might of his empire (ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθα). The Persian ships (Μηδείων νῆες) were able to reach Greece faster through this canal. The enigmatic phrase "ox-piercer of Arsinoe" (βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης) has puzzled scholars since antiquity. Catullus, for instance, ignores it completely.[546] A scholiast of verse 45 writes that *βουπόρ[ος] Ἀρσιν(όης):* βουπόρος ὁ ὀβελίσκο[ς]. The βουπόρος might be the very tall obelisk that was erected in front of the temple of Arsinoe in Alexandria.[547] Callimachus probably parallels the cutting of the hair of Berenice with the work required to sculpt an obelisk and to dig a canal through a mountain. We can, perhaps, continue further with the obelisk of Arsinoe. In Egypt, obelisks were seen as symbols of the sun god Re who was responsible for watching the borders of Egypt in a fight against the forces of chaos.[548] This passage of Callimachus furthermore makes an allusion to Mt. Athos which casts its shadow around the Mediterranean, like an obelisk. In *the Lock of Berenice*, the shadow of Mt. Athos also falls on a Lemnian statue of a cow.[549] Koenen thinks that these explanations are complementary: they describe the journey of the sun, defining the realm of an Egyptian king.[550] This passage is therefore concerned with the territorial authority of a Ptolemaic sovereign, in both Greek and Egyptian terms.

The term βουπόρος could refer to the Bosporus.[551] This strait, dividing Asia from Europe, was named after the goddess Io because she roamed between the two continents. A priestess of Hera in Argos, Io was transformed into a heifer by Hera. As we have seen in our discussion on the *Victory of Berenice*, Io, the ancestress of the Danaid line, was often identified with Isis in Egypt. The phrase βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης also makes an allusion to the Danaid line, but also suggest the identification between Arsinoe II and Isis. However, the most revered cow-goddess in Egypt was not Isis, but

[546] Cat. 66.43-46: *ille quoque euersus mons est, quem maximum in oris / progenies Thiae clara superuehitur, / cum Medi peperere nouum mare, cumque iuuentus / per medium classi barbara nauit Athon*. See further Harder 2012b, 815.

[547] See also my discussion on Callimachus' *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* in Chapter 4.2.

[548] Te Velde 1977, 105.

[549] Cf. Soph. fr. 776 Radt: Ἄθως σκιάζει νῶτα Λημνίας βοός.

[550] Koenen 1993, 99.

[551] Prioux 2011, 213.

Hathor. She was the ruler of the heavens and was often portrayed as the wife of the sun god Re.[552]

From the depths of the ocean to the height of the stars: the catasterism of the lock

After narrating the events that precede the dedication, the poem of Callimachus moves on to describe the details of the catasterism of the lock (Harder 110.51-64):

ἄρτι [ν]εότμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφεαί,
καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος
ἵετο κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερὰ θῆλυς ἀήτης,
ἵ̣ππ̣ο[ς] ἰοζώνου Λοκρίδος Ἀρσινόης,
.[.]ασε̣ δὲ πνοιῆι μ̣ε, δι᾽ ἠέρα δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ἐνείκας
Κύπρ]ιδος εἰς κόλ̣ι̣πους……ἔθηκε
αὐτή̣ μιν Ζεφυρῖτις ἐπιπροέ̣[ηκε(ν)
.... Κ]ανωπίτου ναιέτις α[ἰγιαλοῦ.
ὄφρα δὲ] μὴ νύμφης Μινωίδος ο[
.....]ος ἀνθρώποις μοῦνον ἐπι.[
φάεσ]ι̣ν ἐν πολέεσσιν ἀρίθμιος ἀλλ̣[ὰ φαείνω
καὶ Βερ]ενίκειος καλὸς ἐγὼ πλόκαμ[ος,
ὕδασι] λ̣ουόμενόν με παρ᾽ ἀθ̣α̣[νάτους ἀνάγουσα
Κύπρι]ς̣ ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἄστρον [ἔθηκε νέον.

My sister-locks were mourning me when I was just freshly cut off, and straightaway the brother of the Aethiopian Memnon came rushing on, circling his swift wings, a gentle breeze, the Locrian horse of Arsinoe with her purple girdle, and took me with his breath, and carrying me through the humid air he placed me in Cypris' lap. Zephyritis herself had sent him on his way, … who lives on the coast at Canopus. And in order that not only … of the bride, the daughter of Minos, … for men, counted among many stars, but that I would also shine (?), I, the beautiful lock of Berenice, Cypris brought me (?), washed in the water (?), to the immortals and placed me as a new star among the old ones.

[552] Hicks 1962, 93-94.

The language of this passage is diffuse. The longing of the κόμαι reminds us of Sapphic poems that describe the mourning of a group of girls when one of them is getting married,[553] but the longing of the sister-locks also parallels the separation of Berenice II and Euergetes; ποθέεσκον especially suggests erotic longing.[554] The passage begins with a description of how Zephyrus, the West wind, snatched the freshly cut lock. Zephyrus is here portrayed as the brother of the Aethiopian Memnon. Zephyrus and Memnon were the sons of Tithonus and Eos, perhaps hinting that the catasterism occurred at sunrise. The phrase δι' ἠέρα δ' ὑγρὸν moreover alludes to the humid morning air. The Locrian horse of Arsinoe denotes the wind that carries the lock to the lap of Aphrodite. This passage about the horses has troubled scholars. Koenen thinks that Callimachus refers here to Balius, a horse that was a gift from Poseidon to Achilles.[555] Zephyrus was also the father of Balius and Xanthus, the other immortal horse of Achilles. Zephyrus is described here as an adolescent; θῆλυς refers to "the sexually ambivalent image of very young men".[556] Zephyrus is the gentlest of the winds and the bearer of the spring which, I think, accentuates the welcoming tone of the poem. In addition, Callimachus could have included this passage in his poem because Berenice's fondness for horses was well known.

A reference to the Ptolemaic court dynastic cult could appear in verse 67. The epithet ἰοζώνου […] Ἀρσινόης alludes to Sappho, but also to Bacchylides. It appears that the poet coined the term ἰόζωνος on the basis of Sappho's ἰόκολπος ("with lap of violet") and Bacchylides' πορφυρόζωνος ("with purple sash").[557] The phrase ἰοζώνου Ἀρσινόης is an allusion to Aphrodite because both Sappho and Bacchylides use their words when referring to Aphrodite. However, Bacchylides' πορφυροζώνος makes allusion to Hera but, as Pfeiffer noted (fr. 110.54 Pf.) this girdle is usually a gift from Aphrodite. It therefore seems that it is actually Arsinoe II disguised as Aphrodite who carries the lock into the ocean.

[553] Harder 2012b, 822.

[554] Acosta-Hughes 2010, 64.

[555] Koenen 1993, 104.

[556] Acosta-Hughes 2010, 68.

[557] Acosta-Hughes 2010, 64-65. Translations of Sappho and Bacchylides are from Prioux 2011, 215.

The catasterism of the lock occurred in water (ὕδασι] λ̣ουόμενόν). This is a Homeric image,[558] but Egyptian as well. It was both a Greek and Egyptian concept that the souls of the dead would rise into the sky and become stars.[559] In the Egyptian cosmology, however, the life of the stars begins in the waters of Duat, the Egyptian Underworld. This underworld was located under the land of the living and was surrounded by a watery abyss. The god Nun, the source of all life,[560] was the deification of the primordial waters of Duat. In those waters Re bathes and rejuvenates himself before every sunrise.[561] According to Assmann, "[t]he morning sun bathed in this creative primeval water, drawing strength for a new day and a new ascent to the sky, and this water was poured out for the deceased so as to rejuvenate him, to connect him with the gods, to cause him to ascend to the sky, and to create a space where he could return for his offerings."[562] The passage of Callimachus thus harmonizes with the Egyptian beliefs. The catasterism of the lock took place in the morning, an especially critical moment in the battle between cosmos and chaos in the Egyptian cosmogony.[563] Cut off from the head of Berenice II, the lock needed to be rejuvenated before it ascended to heaven. From the *Pyramid Texts* we find a similar description (*Pyr*. § 1716-1717): "Betake yourself to the waterway, fare upstream to the Thinite nome, travel about Abydos in this spirit-form of yours which the gods commanded to belong to you; may a stairway to the Netherworld be set up for you to the place where Orion is, may the Bull of the sky take your hand, may you eat of the food of the gods."

[558] For instance *Il*. 5.5-6: ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα / λαμπρὸν παμφαίνῃσι λελουμένος ὠκεανοῖο.
[559] Koenen 1993, 105.
[560] See Troy 1986, 17.
[561] Frankfort 1948, 154.
[562] Assmann 2005, 363.
[563] Te Velde 1977, 105.

"These things do not bring much pleasure": the lock as a constellation

After the catasterism, Callimachus' poem likely described the details of the location of the lock in the night sky.[564] The original description of Callimachus survives in a very fragmentary state of preservation (Harder 110.65-68), and we are therefore compelled to consult Catullus' *Coma Berenices* (66.65-68):

> *Uirginis et saeui contingens namque Leonis*
> *lumina, Callisto iuncta Lycaoniae,*
> *uertor in occasum, tardum dux ante Booten,*
> *qui uix sero alto mergitur Oceano*.

> For in the neighbourhood of the lights of Virgo and the grim Leo, near Callisto the daughter of Lycaon I move to my setting, as a leader in front of the slow Bootes, who only very late sinks into the deep Oceanus.

According to Catullus, then, the lock is located near Virgo, Leo, Callisto and just in front of Boötes.[565] Before examining the lock's life as a constellation, let us take a brief detour into other portrayals of catasterisms during Callimachus' age. Indeed, the *Lock of Berenice* is not an isolated example in the Hellenistic literature. For instance, Eratosthenes, the fellow Cyrenean polymath of Callimachus, wrote a book on catasterisms. Apart from the καταστερισμοί, the elegiac poem *Erigone* of Eratosthenes is a revealing example.[566] The contents of *Erigone* can be summarized as follows.

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[564] Schol. in fr. 110.65-68 Pf.: π̣...μεσ.[.].[ ]...τ(ως) ἀκουστέον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Λέων κατηστ[έ]ρι̣σ̣τ̣α̣ι̣ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἄρκτῳ· Ἀρα̣τ̣[ος] 'ποσσὶ δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοτ̣[έροισι] | Λέων | ὑπ[ὸ] καλὰ φα[είν]ει' τῆς Ἄρκτου λέγει· ταῖς δὲ Πλειά[σ]ι φ(ασὶν) ἐοικέναι τὸν Πλόκαμ(ον) κα̣τ̣[ὰ τ]ὸ σχῆμα διὰ τ[ὸ μικροὺς] | κ[α]ὶ πυκνοὺς ἐν.[..]. ἀστέρας κεῖσθαι, καθὰ καὶ Διόφιλ[ος ἐ]ν τῷ̣ ἐπιγραφομένῳ̣ Προκ[..]ῳ̣ οὕτ(ως)· π̣ο̣λλά[κι δὴ] | ἴδε κεῖνο δι' ἠέ[ρος] ἐμφανὲς ἄστρον ὄμματ' ἐπισ̣τ̣[ή]σ̣ασα κατ' ἀστ[ερ]όεσσαν Ἄμαξαν· τ̣ὴν ἄρ' ἅπαν ἀ̣[στρον μὲν] | ἀεὶ κ(ατὰ) κείμενον [...]η ..ταδιη κέχυται, πολλοὶ δ<έ οἱ> ἀσ̣τ̣έρ̣ε̣ς ἀμφ̣ί̣[ς] καὶ θαμέες τυ̣π̣όωσιν, ἀτὰρ [κατὰ] | εἴδεται ὤμω[ν] Παρθένο<υ> οὐ<δ>ὲ Λέοντος ἀπόπροθεν αἰωρεῖται, ο̣ὐ̣ρανίοιο Λέοντος ἐπιψαύε[ι] | [ἰ]ξύος ἀκροτά[τ(ης), ἕ]πετ(αι) δέ οἱ ἄγχι Βοώτης Ἄρκτον ἀποσκοπέων η̣ο̣ι̣α̣μ̣ε̣τ̣ασκ̣οοπα.[] | ο̣ι̣.[.]..[..].[. Βο]ώτ(ην) τὸν [Π]λ̣[ό]κ̣αμ(ον) εἶπ(ε) διὰ τὸ τὸν Βοώ[την] μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνατέλλειν τ̣[ε καὶ δύνειν. ἶνις Ἄκ|μονος· ὁ Οὐρα]νός· οὗτο̣ς̣ γὰρ Ἄκμονος υἱ[ό]ς̣. ἶνις δὲ κυ̣ρ̣ί̣ω̣[ς] ὁ ὑπ̣ο̣τ̣ί̣τ̣θ̣[ι]ος ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) [ἰνοῦν τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ θηλάζειν]|.νι κανόνιον. πρόσθε μὲν ἐρχομε̣ν̣.....οπω..· κοινη̣ι̣.[]|[]τε τῆς ἀ̣ν̣[α]τ̣ο̣λῆς κ(αὶ) τῆς δύσεως ἀνατέλλ[ει]. For this passage, see Harder 2012b, 838-841.

[565] See Marinone 1997, 256.

[566] For an overview of *Erigone*, see Geus 2002, 100-110.

Thanks to the help of Dionysos, Icarius, an Athenian herdsman, invented wine. Icarius was, however, killed by an angry mob of farmers who had been drinking wine for the first time and, in their intoxicated rage, were convinced that Icarius was trying to poison them. The daughter of Icarius, Erigone, went to search for her father and eventually found his dead body. Ridden with grief, Erigone killed herself. The dog of Icarius, Maira, starved to death while guarding the grave of its master. Acting from compassion, Zeus transformed all three into stars: Icarius became Boötes, Erigone Virgo and Maira Sirius, the Dog Star. Noteworthy is that Erigone apparently cut one of her locks as a sign of grief. It appears that the narrative of Eratosthenes conforms to Egyptian beliefs. Merkelbach & West think that Icarius, Erigone and Maira can be identified with Osiris, Isis and Anubis.[567] Eratosthenes' poem compares with the *Lock of Berenice*, but the tone of these two poems differ significantly as *Erigone* displays a more gothic and lugubrious tone than the elegy of Callimachus.[568]

The position the lock takes in the sky is of interest from an Egyptian viewpoint. First of all, every star surrounding the lock was identified with Isis in the Hellenistic age.[569] The Egyptians believed that Osiris was killed by Seth, taking the form of a bull. In fact, it was with a bull's leg that Osiris was killed. Accordingly, the Egyptians recognized the foreleg of a bull from the sky; the constellation of the Great Bear represented the bull's leg in the Egyptian star maps. This Sethian constellation is guarded by Isis as a hippopotamus.[570] "The *hpš* is a dangerous object as a scimitar and as the bull's leg in the northern sky, for it must be guarded there."[571] In that location, the battle between chaos and order, a topos in Callimachus' encomiastic poetry, was constantly replayed. The lock of Berenice can therefore be seen as a celestial assistant of the king (Horus) and queen (Isis) of Egypt in a fight against the forces of Seth.

[567] Merkelbach & West 1964, 187.
[568] Sistakou 2012, 12.
[569] Koenen 1993, 107.
[570] Neugebauer & Parker 1969, 190.
[571] Te Velde 1977, 88.

The version of Catullus continues as follows (66.69-74):

sed quamquam me nocte premunt uestigia diuum,
lux autem canae Tethyi restituit
(pace tua fari hic liceat, Ramnusia uirgo,
namque ego non ullo uera timore tegam,
nec si me infestis discerpent sidera dictis,
condita quin ueri pectoris euoluam).

[B]ut although the feet of the gods tread on me at night, and daylight restores me to the grey Tethys (let me be allowed to speak at this point with no offence to you, Rhamnusian virgin, for let me not hide the truth through any fear, - not even if the stars tear me to pieces with bitter words would I not refrain from uttering truthfully what is hidden in my heart).

The Greek original is effectively illegible (Harder 110.69-74):

ἀ]λ̣λ’ εἰ κα̣[ι].....ν
].. [.] ι̣τη[
μὴ κ̣οτέσῃι[ς, οὔτ]ι̣ς ἐρύξει
βοῦς ἔπος ȷ]η...[ ].[ ].βη
].[.]ε̣λε̣.[ ]. θράσος ἀ[στ]έρες ἄλλοι
]ν̣δινειε.[ ]ο̣σ̣οσο[.]τ̣εκ.[.]ω

It is likely that verse 71 reads Παρθένε, μὴ] κ̣οτέσῃ[ς, Ῥαμνουσιάς.[572] The Rhamnusian virgin is Nemesis,[573] the goddess of divine vengeance. She was, according to some mythical variants, daughter of Oceanus, the personification of the World Ocean. Oceanus is mentioned in Harder 110.67; this perhaps accentuates the marine beginnings of the catasterism of the lock. Nemesis was also often identified with Isis.[574]

[572] This phrase is printed in Massimilla 213.71, but not in fr. 110.71 Pf and Harder 110.71.

[573] Cf. for instance, fr. 299 Pf.: Αἴσηπον ἔχεις, ἑλικώτατον ὕδωρ, / Νηπείης ἥ τ’ ἄργος, ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια. Adrasteia was an epithet of Nemesis. For this address to Nemesis, see Hollis 2009, 301-303.

[574] Merkelbach 1967, 218. For instance, Apul. *Met*. 11.5.3: *Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum matrem, hinc autochthones Attici Cecropeiam Minervam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusinii vetusti Actaeam*

In fact, it seems that the amalgamation of Isis and Nemesis begun in Alexandria.[575] Perhaps the lock is addressing the celestial Isis that it would prefer to stay in the head of the earthly Isis.[576]

Koenen proposes that this passage alludes to a particular Egyptian ceremony, that of the weighing of the heart, and subsequently to the negative confessions uttered by the dead in front of the court judging him.[577] The weighing of the heart was a ceremony conducted by Anubis in which the heart of the deceased was placed on one end of a scale and on the other end was placed the feather of Ma'at, the goddess of truth and justice. The priestess of Isis also uttered these negative confessions.[578] The Catullan phrase *infestis discerpent* [...] *dictis* might be a reference to the Egyptian demon Ammit, the Eater of Hearts. This terrible mongrel of a lion, a hippopotamus and a crocodile lived in the depths of the Duat. If the heart of the deceased was heavier than the feather of Ma'at during the weighing of the heart, Ammit would tear apart the deceased. An interesting contemporary parallel to Callimachus' poem comes from the temple of Isis at Philae. Several hymns to Isis were inscribed on the walls of this temple. In the eighth hymn, Ptolemy II Philadelphus utters the negative confessions.[579]

The end part of the Greek original survives poorly. Especially the verses that are Catullus 66.79-88 are completely missing in the fragments of *P.Oxy*. 2258. Consequently, some scholars have suggested that this part (*ritus nuptialis*) is a Catullan addition. A more likely solution is instead that the *Lock of Berenice* was originally an

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Cererem, Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi, et qui nascentis dei Solis <et occidentis inclinantibus> inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii caerimoniis me propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem. From Delos we find several statues dedicated to Isis-Nemesis. See Roussel 1915-1916, 158-159.

[575] Griffiths 1975, 153.

[576] Harder 2012b, 841.

[577] For instance, the *Papyrus of Ani* contains 42 negative confessions. The first one of these is "I have not committed sin".

[578] Koenen 1993, 106-107.

[579] Žakbar 1988, 115-127. A further comparison in this respect is the poetry of the Roman poet Tibullus. He was, of course, greatly influenced by Callimachus. The second mistress of Tibullus was named Nemesis. We witness the negative confessions being uttered in one of his poems (1.3.51-52): *Parce, pater. timidum non me periuria terrent, / non dicta in sanctos inpia verba deos*. For this, see Koenen 1976, 127-159.

independent court elegy that Callimachus later reworked in order to incorporate the poem into the end of *Aetia* IV. Catullus' version was probably based on those two versions.[580] However, before we move to the *ritus nuptialis*, let us first examine the Callimachean original, which reads as follows (Harder 110.75-78):

οὐ τάδιε μοι τοσσήνδε φιέρεις χάριν ὅσ[σο]ν ἐκείνης
ἀ]σχάλλω κορυφῆς οὐκέτι θιξόμεν[ος,
ἧς ἄπο, παρ[θ]ενίη μὲν ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, πολλὰ πέπωκα
λιτά, γυναικείων δ' οὐκ ἀπέλαυσα μύρων.

These things do not bring me so much pleasure that it outweighs the distress because I no longer touch that head, from which, when she was still a girl, I drank many simple ointments, but did not enjoy the scented woman's unguents.

The lock is unhappy with its location in the sky, and the curl murmurs because it was never able to enjoy the γυναικείων μύρων of the married Berenice II. Instead the lock was forced to resign itself to a girl's πολλὰ λιτά. Callimachus also refers to unguents in his fifth hymn, where Athena wants to rub her skin with plain olive oil.[581] As a virgin goddess, Athena, of course, does not want to use perfumed oil because of the marital connotations attached to scents. We find an opposite attitude towards perfumes in the *Lock of Berenice*. The vividly humorous yearning for the fragrances may be an allusion to the contributions of Arsinoe II and Berenice II to the perfume production in Alexandria,[582] but this longing could suggest a subtle Egyptian influence. Egyptians were known for their fondness of perfumes. For example, the Egyptian god Nefertem, who is portrayed as a lotus flower emerging from the primeval waters, is also the god of perfumes and other aromatics. Fragrance is connected with divinity for the Egyptians.[583] In Theocritus, as well, allusions to perfumes can be regarded as having a certain Egyptian influence (*Id*. 15.106-109):

[580] See Harder 2012b, 846-848.
[581] See Chapter 4.1.
[582] Harder 2012b, 846.
[583] Stephens 2003, 154.

Κύπρι Διωναία, τὺ μὲν ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶς,
ἀνθρώπων ὡς μῦθος, ἐποίησας Βερενίκαν,
ἀμβροσίαν ἐς στῆθος ἀποστάξασα γυναικός.

Lady of Cyprus, Dione's child, you, as men say, changed Berenice from mortal to immortal, dripping ambrosia onto her woman's breast. (Trans. Stephens 2003, 153)

In this passage, Aphrodite seems to mimic Egyptian embalming rituals where scented oils were rubbed over the chest of the deceased.[584] Isis was likewise attracted by fragrant oils. For example, in the Isis temple at Philae, we find this inscription: "Princess, great of praise, lady of charm, / Whose face loves the joy of fresh myrrh."[585] Aromatic oils were often attached to rebirth in Egypt.[586] It therefore seems that the passage of Callimachus particularly stresses the divinity of Berenice II.

Then follows the *ritus nuptialis* (Cat. 66.79-88):

nunc uos, optato quas iunxit lumine taeda,
non prius unanimis corpora coniugibus
tradite nudantes reiecta ueste papillas,
quam iucunda mihi munera libet onyx,
uester onyx, casto colitis quae iura cubili.
sed quae se impuro dedit adulterio,
illius a mala dona leuis bibat irrita puluis:
namque ego ab indignis praemia nulla peto.
sed magis, o nuptae, semper concordia uestras,
semper amor sedes incolat assiduus.

Now you, whom the torch has joined on the longed-for day, do not give your bodies to your loving husbands, baring your breasts by throwing off your clothes, before the onyx-jar has poured pleasant gifts for me, your onyx-jar, wives who observe the rules with chaste bed. But if someone has given herself to unchaste adultery, let the light dust drink

[584] Stephens 2003, 154.
[585] Žakbar 1983, 130.
[586] Žakbar 1988, 44-45.

her bad gifts from women who are unworthy; but instead of that, brides, always let unanimity, always let unending love live in your homes.

It has been disputed whether or not this passage was included in the Callimachean original. At first glance, the quotation appears somewhat un-Callimachean,[587] but Jackson, for instance, suggests that this *ritus nuptialis* was included in the Callimachean original. He further argues that the word "onyx" was often misidentified with the word "basanites" in Ptolemaic Egypt. *Basanites* was a name given by Egyptians to a stone found in the Trogodytes area.[588] The coral *Isidis Crinis* was also found in that area.

In this chapter, we have noted that Callimachus identifies Ptolemaic queens with several goddesses of which some are Greek and some Egyptian. It seems that the most important Greek goddess in terms of the *Lock of Berenice* is Aphrodite. However, Aphrodite was often identified with Isis in Ptolemaic Egypt. Llewellyn-Jones & Winder have moreover proposed that Callimachus' poem makes a constant allusion to the Egyptian goddess Hathor.[589] Aphrodite was a somewhat marginalized goddess in the Greek world mainly thanks to her unashamed sexuality. Hathor, in opposition, was powerful specifically because of her sexuality, in particular because of her sexual union with the Horus-king.[590]

Let us next briefly examine the reasons why Ptolemy III Euergetes decided to return to Egypt from his Syrian campaign. The campaign of Euergetes was successful, even though he was not able to save his sister, Berenice Syra. The Adulis inscription, *OGIS* 54, narrates Euergetes' campaign in similar terms as the campaigns of the eighteenth dynasty Pharaohs.[591] Why then did Euergetes return to Egypt? According to the accounts of Justin (27.1.8-9) and Porphyry (*FGrHist*. 260 F 43), he was forced to return to Egypt due to a native uprising. These indigenous revolts were the first in the Ptolemaic era. Furthermore, the flooding of the Nile was low in 245 BC. I think it seems possible, or even probable, that Callimachus incorporated Egyptian elements in his

[587] On this, see Harder 2012b, 846-848.
[588] Jackson 2001, 7-9.
[589] Llewellyn-Jones & Winder 2011.
[590] Llewellyn-Jones & Winder 2011, 263.
[591] Hölbl 2001, 49.

poem in order to reassure the native Egyptian elite. The first part of the poem narrates the military prowess of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Callimachus' description is in accordance with the Egyptian practice of portraying the king as a subjugator of the Asiatics. Berenice II, however, longed for her husband, like Isis longed Osiris. In the second part, the lock ascends into the sky in accordance with Egyptian beliefs. Finally the lock accepts its position as a celestial avatar of Isis keeping watch on the constellation of Seth. Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice* contains a political message dressed up as a mirthful elegy uttered by the smallest of things, a lock of hair. In addition, we should acknowledge that the *Lock of Berenice* conforms to the objectives of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II because Callimachus' poem portrays them as a divine couple with celestial authority.

6 Conclusions

Reading the poetry of Callimachus has been a game of perception ever since antiquity. The erudition and sophistication of the poet induce his devotees to untangle the allusions of his verse. However, this Callimachean *Ergänzungsspiel* poses a challenge for a modern reader because little of the literature of the Hellenistic period has survived to the present. Because of its fragmentariness, Callimachus' extant poetry often lacks a context. As an example, before the emergence of the Lille fragments, no one suggested that fr. 177 Pf., an excerpt about the invention of a mousetrap, should belong to fr. 383 Pf., an excerpt celebrating the chariot victory of an unknown contestant at the Nemean Games.[592] However, this innovation and unpredictability of the poet is not a proof of his indifference to celebrating his patrons in an earnest manner. One of the main aims of this study has been to extend the image of Callimachus and further position the poet at the core of the Ptolemaic court.

The Ptolemaic rule was not an insular episode in the history of Egypt. Despite the fear of foreign domination, Egypt was occasionally ruled by non-native kings. The success of the Nubian Dynasty (760 – 656 BC) relied on the respect they bestowed on the traditional Egyptian beliefs. After the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the Two Lands witnessed the rule of both Persians and Greeks. The Persian rule was probably not as dismally grim as the Greek historians paint it, but the image of the Greeks as a counterforce to the Persians resonates in the Ptolemaic rule. When Alexander the Great conquered Egypt, he showed respect towards the native beliefs, and this pragmatic approach continued during the Lagid rule. A Ptolemaic king was, in effect, both a Greek βασιλεύς and an Egyptian Pharaoh. The (ostensibly) Egyptian features of the Ptolemaic rule, such as the sibling marriages, would have been bizarre to the Greeks, but neglecting Egyptian practices would, however, have been harmful to their rule. The carefully woven image of a Macedonian Pharaoh is mirrored in the poems of Callimachus.

[592] For the reconstruction of the *Victory of Berenice*, see Chapter 5.1.

In the Introduction, I stated that the aim of this study was twofold: first, to identify the encomiastic poems of Callimachus, and, second, to analyze them in the light of the bicultural Ptolemaic rule. Those Callimachean poems that appear to be encomiastic poems are all of his six hymns, as well as the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. In addition, we have fragments of poems that could have praised members of the Ptolemaic court; I have discussed these fragmentary pieces in the introductory sections of Chapters 3, 4 and 5. However, the examination of the aforementioned nine poems comprises the bulk of this study. Scrutinizing the Callimachean encomia as a whole allows us to discover themes that permeate his poems. For instance, the idea of battle between order and chaos appears prominently throughout the encomiastic verses of Callimachus. All in all, we may conclude that all the poems I have analyzed contain an Egyptian subtext, but the depth of the Egyptian embroidery varies considerably.

My hypothesis was that Callimachus deliberately referred to the Egyptian cultural beliefs in order to propagate the Ptolemaic rule to the indigenous elites. Let us next assess this hypothesis in light of the observations I have presented in this study: Would indigenous Egyptians have understood Callimachus' allusions to their native beliefs?

Beginning with Zeus and ending with Demeter, the Callimachean collection of hymns is organized so that it represents the duality of masculine and feminine kingship. The *Hymn to Zeus*, the first poem of the collection, portrays the birth and growth of the main Olympian deity by introducing several ruptures in the traditional Greek myth. In Callimachus' poem, the god is born on a sacred mountain, and flood revitalizes the arid land after his birth, both events that can be linked with Egyptian beliefs. We indeed recognized that the birth of Zeus harmonizes with the Egyptian narrative about Horus in Chemmis. This image is complemented with a Hesiod-esque account on the rise to power of Zeus, which corresponds to an Egyptian idea of the king as a provider of plenty.

It seems that the *Hymn to Apollo* shares only superficial connections with Egyptian beliefs. The poem, however, juxtaposes the Ptolemaic and Apolline power, which perhaps suggests Egyptian influence because Apollo was often associated with Horus during the age of Callimachus. The *Hymn to Apollo*, like most Callimachean hymns, is

difficult to date. The suggestions about its date vary from the 270s BC to the 240s BC. I think it is probable that the hymn celebrates Ptolemy III Euergetes, and thus dates from the 240s BC.

Because we cannot date the hymns written for goddesses (to Artemis, to Athena, to Demeter) reliably, there are few means to establish their possible addressees. I have supported the dating of the *Hymn to Artemis* and the *Hymn to Athena* to the 270s BC whereas the *Hymn to Demeter* may be dated in the 240s BC. It is difficult to trace Egyptian influence from the hymns to goddesses, but the one to Athena could refer to Neith and the one to Demeter to Isis. I have agreed with those who date the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Demeter* in the 240s BC. This would mean that these poems praise Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II.

The *Hymn to Delos*, however, is probably the most Egyptianizing poem in the extant works of Callimachus. In this hymn, the god Apollo, still a foetus, prophesies about the future struggle between the forces of order and chaos. Apollo's fight against Python compares with the common fight of Ptolemy II Philadelphus against the Celts. I have argued that the *Hymn to Delos* finds a comparison in the Egyptian narrative pattern "prophetic *Königsnovelle*". It seems that Callimachus' strategy is similar to that of the *Victory Stele of Piye* (c. 700 BC) in which the Kushite kings are portrayed as just Pharaohs. In the *Hymn to Delos*, the poet propagates the notion that the Ptolemies are not enemies of Egypt, but instead continuators of the Pharaonic tradition.

The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, I have argued, could have been prominently influenced by the funerary beliefs of the Egyptians, but this is, however, hypothetical because the poem survives in a seriously fragmented state of preservation. The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, a lament over the death of Arsinoe II, seems not only to associate the deceased queen with Isis, but also identify her sister Philotera with Nephthys, the Egyptian goddess of lamentation. As an avatar of Nephthys, Philotera brings condolence to the sorrow-ravaged Two Lands.

In the mid-240s, Callimachus composed the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. These two poems reflect the purpose of the latter part of the Aetia; they celebrate Berenice II. The *Victory of Berenice* is the most elaborate poem analyzed in this study. It takes its cues from Greek mythology, but the poem is also vividly

influenced by Egyptian beliefs. Divided into two parts, the *Victory of Berenice* wittily inspects Egyptian ideas about the battle between order and chaos. This recurrent Egyptian theme manifests itself in the *Lock of Berenice* as well. In this poem, a curl of hair of Berenice II transforms into a celestial avatar of Isis. From the sky, it controls the forces of Seth. The astral dimension of the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice* mirrors the wish of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II to have been seen as star gods.

Would a well-lettered Egyptian, then, have understood Callimachus' references to the beliefs of the Egyptians? In my opinion, yes, but it is not easy to defend this assumption. The Egyptian priests and scribes were a heterogeneous group. Some of them were well-Hellenized, such as Manetho and other high priests, but some were probably not at all fluent in Greek. We have, however, evidence that Greek culture influenced the lower ranks of priest and scribes. Indeed, in implementing the bilingual cadre of scribes, the Ptolemies created a new audience for Callimachus and other Alexandrian poets. In addition to the priests and scribes, we may assume that other sectors of the Egyptian population, such as, for instance, the wealthy landowners, could have been culturally active. This study proposes that the encomiastic poetry of Callimachus was a medium by which the Ptolemaic rule was made more familiar not only to the Greeks, but to the Egyptians as well.

The Egyptian influence manifests most prominently in the hymns to Zeus and to Delos, in the *Victory of Berenice* and in the *Lock of Berenice*. I think the *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* was heavily permeated with Egyptian tradition as well, but this is disputable because the poem survives in a very fragmentary condition. The Leitmotif of Callimachus' encomiastic poetry was to trace unifying aspects between Greeks and Egyptians, and the myth about the Danaids, for instance, was an apt vehicle to propagate the idea that the Macedonian kings were also Egyptian Pharaohs. In addition, it seems that Callimachus synchronized his variegated and sophisticated poetry to match the current political situation. Indeed, the cosmological aspects of the *Victory and the Lock* reflect the reformations of Euergetes.

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